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POLITICAL SCIENCE AS PSYCHOLOGY

HORACE M. KALLEN

New School for Social Research

I

"Suppose," wrote William James in *A Pluralistic Universe*, "that a philosopher believes in what is called free-will. That a common man alongside of him should also share that belief, possessing it by a sort of inborn intuition, does not endear the man to the philosopher at all—he may even be ashamed to be associated with such a man. What interests the philosopher is the particular premises on which the free-will he believes in is established, the sense in which it is taken, the objections it eludes, the difficulties it takes account of, in short the whole form and temper and manner and technical apparatus that goes with the belief in question. A philosopher across the way who should use the same technical apparatus, making the same distinctions but drawing opposite conclusions and denying free-will entirely, would fascinate the first philosopher far more than the *naïf* co-believer. Their common technical interests would unite them more than their opposite conclusions separate them. Each would feel an essential consanguinity in the other, would think of him, write *at* him, care for his good opinion. The simple-minded believer in free-will would be disregarded by either. Neither as ally nor as opponent would his vote be counted."

Replace "philosopher" with "political scientist," "free-will" with "sovereignty," and this observation remains unmodified in its truth. Indeed, it remains unmodified if you replace the philosopher with any scientist whatsoever and free-will with any correlative concept whatsoever. There exists among the varieties of scientists a guild jealousy, a craft exclusiveness, as rigid and pharisaical as any a labor union ever achieved, and it extends, as among labor unions, not merely to naive and simple-minded outsiders of no technological standing, but even more particularly to the journeymen of a different skill and another craft. Each discipline guards its sovereignty over its domain with the sedulousness of a national government, each finds itself at given times invaded and overrun by outsiders with whom it must reckon. Usually it assimilates them and continues on its wonted way. Sometimes it undergoes a constitutional mutation. It is swept by revolution. Its preconceptions, methods and material sustain a sea change. When this happens the science is making progress. The activity of its practitioners expands. Precedent gets disregarded. Authority is ignored or repudiated. Imagination and observation come into coöperative play.

To craftsmen of invariant habit, this state of their science seems deplorable confusion. They tend to decry its adventurers as "unscientific," to disqualify them for poor craftsmanship and alien subject-matter, to see them as doubles of the young leader-writer of the *Eatanswill Gazette* whom Editor Pott described to Mr. Pickwick as author of an article on Chinese metaphysics. You remember the gustable scene in the *Pickwick Papers*. Mr. Pott is a party man, the editor of a party paper, as steadfast for his *blue* political principles as ever any editor of a Republican news-sheet is for his bluer ones, as implacable in his hatred for the never-too-wicked opposing party, and as venomous in his expression of his sentiments. Mr. Pott has come upon Mr. Pickwick and his young fellow-travelers, Mr. Bob Sawyer and Mr. Benjamin Allen, at an inn. The conversation is immortal, as so much by Dickens is, and should be over the table of every disciplined scholar, as both a skeleton and a sign-post

at his bookish feasts. Especially, over the table of the political scientist

"And how are matters going on in Eatanswill?" inquired Mr. Pickwick, ... "Is the Independent still in being?"

"The Independent, sir," replied Mr. Pott, "is still dragging on a wretched and lingering career. Abhorred and despised by even the few who are cognizant of its miserable and disgraceful existence; stifled by the very filth it so profusely scatters; rendered deaf and blind by the exhalations of its own slime; the obscene journal, happily unconscious of its degraded state, is rapidly sinking beneath that treacherous mud which, while it seems to give it a firm standing with the low and debased classes of society, is, nevertheless, rising above its detested head, and will speedily engulf it forever."

Having delivered this manifesto (which formed a portion of his last week's leader) with vehement articulation, the editor paused to take breath, and looked majestically at Bob Sawyer.

"You are a young man, sir," said Mr. Pott.

Mr. Bob Sawyer nodded.

"So are you, sir," said Pott, addressing Mr. Ben Allen.

Ben admitted the soft impeachment.

"And you are both deeply imbued with those blue principles, which, so long as I live, I have pledged myself to the people of these kingdoms to support and maintain?" suggested Pott.

"Why, I don't exactly know about that," replied Bob Sawyer. "I am—"

"Not buff, Mr. Pickwick," interrupted Pott, drawing back in his chair, "your friend is not buff, sir?"

"No, no," rejoined Bob, "I'm a kind of plaid at present, a compound of all sorts of colours."

"A waverer," said Pott solemnly, "a waverer. I should like to show you a series of eight articles, sir, that have appeared in the Eatanswill Gazette. I think I may venture to say that you would not be long in establishing your opinions on a firm and solid blue basis, sir."

"I dare say I should turn very blue, long before I got to the end of them," responded Bob.

Mr. Pott looked dubiously at Bob Sawyer for some seconds, and, turning to Mr. Pickwick, said:

"You have seen the literary articles which appeared at intervals in the Eatanswill Gazette in the course of the last three months, and which have excited such general—I may say such universal—admiration?"

"Why," replied Mr. Pickwick "the fact is, I have been so much engaged in other ways that I really have not had the opportunity of perusing them."

"You should do so, sir," said Pott with a severe countenance.

"I will," said Mr. Pickwick.

"They appeared in the form of a copious review of a work on Chinese metaphysics, sir," said Pott.

"Oh," observed Mr. Pickwick, "from your pen, I hope."

"From the pen of my critic, sir," rejoined Mr. Pott with dignity.

"An abstruse subject. I should conceive," said Mr. Pickwick.

"Very, sir," responded Pott, looking intensely sober. "He *crammed* for it, to use a technical but very expressive term; he read up for the subject, at my desire, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*."

"Indeed," said Mr. Pickwick, "I was not aware that that valuable work contained any information respecting Chinese metaphysics."

"He read, sir," rejoined Pott, laying his hand on Mr. Pickwick's knee and looking round with a smile of intellectual superiority, "he read for metaphysics under the letter M, and for China under the letter C, and combined his information, sir."

II

Blessed magic of Charles Dickens! The dialogue, flaying, at once, and joyous as it is, sets forth and illustrates not merely the undeviating, passionless logic of political behavior, but the technique of scholarship in its Pickwickian sense. To combine the unrelated as Editor Pott's critic combined them is to mix irrelevancies, to perpetuate pedantry without feeling,

even as to follow the implacable logic of party loves and hatreds is to carry on a traditional passion without regard for experience or knowledge. To mix irrelevancies is absurd because it is inert; to follow party passion is ridiculous, because it is dialectic playing out its implications in a vacuum. For fertility and progress they must be joined. Passion must have a theme other than itself. Themes require a dynamic they do not possess. Matters of knowledge, like chemicals, are inert, and require the animating flash, that, in mixing, fuses them and makes them livingly one. By this flash irrelevancies attain the mutuality of the parts of an organism.

It is the lack of this fortunate conjunction that the greatest English humorist ridicules, and that the craftsmen abjure. To combine unrelated informations, they would imply, may be successful journalism, but it is unethical metaphysics and bad technique. It is unscientific political science, for example, to bring together two distinct and unrelated disciplines like psychology and politics and to expect to make of a combination so arbitrary, violent, and rude, anything but Chinese metaphysics. They do not belong together and cannot hold together, and their union can serve only to create a jurisdictional dispute.

To what degree this so typical craft-judgment shoots from the logic of passion, the automatisms and reflexes of self-preservation, the spontaneous urge to spring to the defense of what is their own and to fence it off against invasion; and to what degree it derives from ancient preconceptions regarding the nature and the technique and the purpose of science (which has an identical root in passion), it would be idle to argue. In logic, at least, the latter supply a foundation for the judgment which in fact the former sustain. For logic has ever been a progression of *sames* through differences to an ultimate same; and the conventional ideal of the technique and procedure of science is the syllogism or equation, in which thought rides a circuit from an assumption or premise through a succession of differences, of transformations, to come at the end to a conclusion identical with the beginning. This is conspicuously the procedure of the mathematical and the physical sciences, as well when they are inductive and experi-

mental as when they are purely "deductive." It is a process of illation, and its upshot is an equation in which, unlike the life of Job, the latter end is no better than the beginning. Recent studies among logicians¹ have considerably shaken the certainty of this standard of scientific procedure. Indications are strong that in the commonsense of the next generation, scientific thinking will be held for the tentative, insecure, experimental, and relative thing analysis shows it to be. It is already so considered among the *cognoscenti*. But this view of it has not yet been incorporated into the preconceptions of the intellectual classes outside the domain of logic and psychology nor for that matter, within this domain. To their commonsense the ideal of science is still derived from the mathematical and physical disciplines. It still involves ideals of infallible *precision* and of unqualified *control*. The ideal of precision rests on the equational character of these sciences; the hypothetical invariance with which $2 + 2$ are 4 and $(a + b)^2$ are $a^2 + 2ab + b^2$. The ideal of control derives from the arrangements and conditions of the laboratory for the purposes of experimentation. These are apparently always such that the process under investigation is cut off from all possible external influences; is, if you please, free to work itself out according to the implications of its own nature. The investigator is reduced to a pure spectator; he can witness and record the event; he can not modify it.

Does it need to be argued that these are ideals for a possible program of science rather than characteristics of its method? The testimony of fact and experience is—*Ever not quite*. In real life, four is an aspiration of the union of 2 and 2, not an achievement. Two drops of water added to two others make only one drop; two drops of sulphuric acid added to two drops of copper make no drops. It is only when the 2's are inert and isolated from

¹ See, particularly, the astounding analysis of the structure of thought by Dr. H. M. Sheffer, which seems to me to constitute a sort of Einsteinian revolution in formal logic. This paper, "The General Theory of Notational Relativity," has been published by the author. And, of course, there is the whole sequence of studies by the pragmatists, beginning with the papers of C. S. S. Pierce in the *Popular Science Monthly* and ranging through the classic formulations of James, the subtleties of Schiller, and experimental analyses of Dewey.

other things and events that they are 4. At work, their implications, like the dyer's hand, are modified by the things they work in. Numbers, in the living world, are not quite numerical. Life, in the mathematical world, has the immobilities of death. The irrelevancies mix, and if in mixing, they also act together, if there is any go in them, the result is beyond prevision and can not be foretold. So, again, in the actualities of the laboratory procedure, the investigator is by no means a pure spectator, without a stake and an interest in the result. To begin with, he has himself selected the conditions of his experiment and appointed its terms. He has given a direction to the movement of the event that he is studying. He is not indifferent to what may come. He is seeking not any result, but a special one in which he has a passionate concern, and it is this concern which has been the organizing dynamic of his experiment. Not very often is the concern about the experimental event itself. Never is it about the experimental event alone. All and any of the complex motives of a man's life may be in play in it—ambitions, rivalries, loves, loyalties, allegiances, hungers, hatreds. As an extreme example of what is involved, consider the organization of a society of German physicists to combat and refute the theory of relativity because Einstein, who is most prominently identified with it, is a Jew; consider the tale that comes out of Paris, that modern fabricator of Arabian Nights' Entertainments, of a meeting of the communists of Russia which heard a lengthy and exhaustive report on the theory of relativity, and after a full discussion solemnly voted to excommunicate it and to prohibit its teaching, because it was incompatible with the materialistic interpretation of history. I do not doubt that this tale is an invention of the ever-inventive French mind and another page in the bible of propaganda revealed and sanctified from the Quai d'Orsay. But that it could be conceived at all is an indication that the teachings and practices of the sciences have a nearer resemblance to the doctrines and rituals of religion than the academic intelligentsia who are habituated in both are willing to acknowledge. No, scientific precision is never quite precise, scientific control is never quite controlling. Scientific thought

does not occur in a vacuum, and it is penetrated by all the influences that compose the environment in which it lives and grows and changes. Even mathematics and physics, the standard-givers of precision and control, do not establish the standards they imply. For such standards can be where thought is not; where thought is, they are not. If the linkage of the physical and mathematical sciences with the residuum of life is often subtle, and hard to fix, even more is their detachment therefrom either a methodological assumption or a static illusion.

If this holds good of the sciences of matter and space and time, how much more must it hold for the sciences of man, for the social sciences! Indeed, the complicated play of unincorporated forces upon these sciences is so clearly recognized, that in many lands the scholars in the field doubt that social studies can be sciences at all, and devote reams and volumes to discussing whether a *science* of society is possible at all. Such doubts, such discussions testify irrefutably to the contagion which the standards and skills of the mathematical and physical crafts exercise upon workmen in the social and political fields. They indicate that what is held to make a science is manipulative apparatus far more than a subject matter. They indicate that the bias for the smooth, easily-handled uniformities which the quantitative method establishes, for the inexorable necessities which the illations of dialectic and the equations of the logic of identity make manifest, is a spontaneous and natural bias. They indicate that its effect upon the facts in the case is to provoke and bring into play the conception—defensive obviously in its origin and operations—that if social studies are sciences at all, they are sciences *different in kind* from mathematics and physics and, therefore, inevitably different in method.

But, if our review of the preconceptions and procedure of the sciences of nature is true, the primary difference is one of degree rather than of kind. From this difference, indeed, a second one flows, which does bring into being a differentiation in kind. The second difference consists of the methodological assumption with which the social sciences undertake the handling of their subject matter, once the static illusion has been abandoned in the field.

This transforming assumption is that the social scientist, in contrast with the natural scientist, is no mere spectator of the event he studies; that he is an agent in the making of the event, and that his judgment is a factor in the event's fate.

That this assumption is in truth no assumption at all, but a summary description of the behavior of social scientists and social theories ought not to be a point requiring to be labored. Obvious, however, as it is, the special uses of social theory in the schools blurs its outlines and withdraws its clear character into the fog of academic dialectic. The reason is to be seen in the character of social theory which becomes matter of instruction in the schools. Such theory is dead theory. To handle it is to carry out an anatomical dissection. To apply it is to elaborate a dialectic of its implications, to judge it for its self-consistency and its structural coherence. These observations must not be regarded as a reproach levelled at the schools. Preoccupied as they are, and as to a great degree, they must be, with the transmission of the past rather than the making of the future, they are able to handle successfully only the sort of matter which lends itself to such transmission—matter, in a word, which has become invariant, fixed, reduplicable; matter inert and dead. Hence, by the time a theory has become the subject of teaching in the schools it has ceased to be of living moment; the élan and go of it have lapsed away, change has become impossible to it; that is, it has become something that can be taught in a classroom like a mathematical equation. So, in still another instance, the dead hand obscures and holds back the living thought, blurs its nature and distorts its qualities. The fixity, then, which pertains to social theories—theories, for example, of the structure and functions of states—in the quietudes of the schools is subsequent to their labile variations in the tumults of the community. When they get to the schools they are immortal and by necessary implication, dead. They breed no consequences.

If political science is a social science—which nobody will deny—political theory has the history and the fate of other social theories. And if it has such a history and fate, then political science is psychology.

III

In New York City, on Forty-second Street not far from where on Broadway the tidal crowds flood and ebb like spurts of blood through the chambers of a living heart, there is, for the tired business man, a retreat of entertainment where he may feast his eye and delight his ear and quicken his heart, undisturbed by the cares of his business world. Here he may take his hour of mirth and contemplation. As a monk in a monastery, he may woo, and win, beatitudes. The name by which this cloister of the capitalist life is called is worthy of a less diverting, a less beautiful, confection. It is "The Follies." Currently one of these follies is a presentation of Mr. Hughes' conference in Washington to limit the building of no longer effective styles of battle-ships. The scene presents, in swift and poignant parody, the alliances, the enmities, the jealousies, the confusion of mind and poverty of spirit, of the great powers, including our own broad and goodly land. It ends in a free-for-all, in which the antagonists beat each other over the head with the blown bladders which used to be the staff of office of the mediaeval court fools.

Such a scene, I have thought, is the distilled essence of a living political science. Not only does it communicate the subject with which it deals. The communication is at the same time an analysis, a judgment, a bid for change. Made by a professing political scientist, with the instrumentalities of his craft, instead of those of the folly-maker, it would bring him at once under the watchful eye of sect or class or party. They would react to it as a force, rather than laugh at it as a folly. Its existence would modify their conduct and the conduct of its creator; it would save him at least an investigation; and if the creator were just an undergraduate it would earn him a suspension. Nor would its consequences stop with this. Set within the time, the place, the circumstances, its own force and direction would be added to those already within the situation, giving it a new momentum and another goal. Consider, for instance, the effect upon political discussion and political behavior in the United States of Charles Beard's application of the "prin-

ciple" of the economic interpretation of history—a principle then already a commonplace in the European schools. This "principle" which is the momentous contribution of Karl Marx to social theory, is still a force which has not yet won its place. It throws conventional happenings into startling patterns. It breaks up traditional constellations of events into new arrangements. It sets contradictory valuations upon the accepted institutional excellences of society. It serves not only as a vision of the facts; but as a *recreation* of them and a judgment of them. It really transvalues values, providing, in James' words, an option, momentous, living, and insecure. In this, it is neither better nor worse than other theories and principles which have at various times sprung into being; it happens currently in the United States to be the most embattled and most nearly victorious one. More than any other contemporaneous "principle" it is determining the patterns of the behavior and the organization of social, therefore, of political science.

May it not be rightly said, then, that political scientists are like critics at the play? Their reports on the performance will be fairly at one in naming the cast and recording the plot. But this naming and tracing is the least important thing about the reports. These become units of force in so far as they incorporate and utter also the reactions of the critics to their performance, their judgments of approval and condemnation. These are agencies in the fate of the play. They have power to make and to break, to sustain and to destroy.

These reactions, these judgments, which normally so suffuse the reports that fact and favor interpenetrate and cannot be lifted apart and examined separately, have their own origins, history, method, and character. They have their own dependence on a manifold of inheritance, custom, association, training. They are the utterances of sensibilities in which these are focalized; of passions which the event challenges, expresses, represses, relieves, sublimates, and so on.

And the event itself—whether it be the murder of Duncan or the slaughter of the innocents—is it not also of this same stuff compact? What is a play but men in action on the stage? What

is history, what is religion, what is art, what is government, but men in action off the stage, in the theatre of their own lives, and each institution but an action in a mode determined by its tools, ends, functions, and the relationships of the actors, established according to their kinds? In these the matter of the drama has its being; out of them grows its plot. The institutions of civilization, which are the themes of the social sciences, are each a special plot or drama of men in action. Political science is a special discipline conversant with one of these special plots.

Special is the significant word in this connection. It is the significant word because the life of man, from its beginning to its end, is unspecialized. It starts, and it stops. It has no middle and no conclusion. It is a continuous sequence of manifold associations, a complexus of relationships, some inward and not to be unlinked, most outward, to be entered into and passed out of as wish or occasion or expediency may determine. Each man is at once a son, a brother, a cousin, a husband, a playmate, a club-man, a friend, a craftsman, a Republican, a church member, a citizen, a lover, a sportsman, in all the indefinite variations of grouping, habituations, skills, practices, and subject-matters these terms designate. Son, brother, cousin, are words which stand for the inward and constitutive connections of a man's very being. They place him in the sequence of heredity and its institutional expression in the intransitive order of the family. To be at all is to be in those relationships; to get out of them, is to cease to be. The others, all others, are transitive. One passes into and out of them, one can be now this woman's husband, now that woman's; now a citizen of England, now of the United States; now a Baptist, now a Christian Scientist; now a Republican, now a Socialist; now a carpenter, now a lawyer; now a boxer, now a golfer; now a prohibitionist, now the stay of a prospering bootlegger; now a capitalist, now a proletarian; and so on indefinitely, through all the associative combinations that society consists of. Each one of these terms stands for a system of relationships which bind men to one another, to things, and to

tools devised for the manipulation of those things. The system, together with a specialized machinery of communication—a professional dialect such as may be observed in each walk of life—in each industry, profession, craft, sport, or art, from safe-cracking to boxing and baseball, from boxing and baseball to medicine, the ministry, the law or any science—composes what is usually meant by an institution. The life and go of the institution is enchanneled in these relationships. They are the relationships; and the character and destiny of any man are stated, and exhausted, in the sum total of them in which he belongs. Men are congenitally “hyphenates,” and the more cultivated their lives, the richer and more varied their interests, the more hyphenated they are. As I have more than once had occasion to point out, hyphenation is civilization. Hyphenation is the harmonious integration of the diverse associative patterns into which a man’s life falls as a self-sustaining whole. In this integration no one system of association is inwardly more important or valuable than any other; none is central, none peripheral; feeling and attention give weight to one or another as need, will, or occasion requires; but different and identifiable as these systems are, they interpenetrate continuously, the equal, moving stuffs of a life which passes, and passes as a whole. When some particular one or more of these patterns and men’s behavior in them is selected as the field of organized attention and is made the subject of exclusive study, a social science arises.

What happens, then, to the unselected residuum which remains? It keeps overflowing, in fact, into the fenced-off field. Ignore it as one will, it compels attention at last. The sciences which are conversant with special aspects of it then become background and fringe of the central field. They nourish its elements even as they transmute them. They supply and modify its preconceptions; in the end, they transmute it into another substance and another form, as for example, the social sciences are being transmuted by Darwinism and by Marxism. But they are fringe and background only *ad hoc*, only in view of the purpose in hand which the selective attention is serving. So, in the same way, and only in the same way, the field of this

attention is foreground. Foreground and background are in themselves neither one nor the other. It is selective attention that throws them into perspectives, making special sciences of either, and in the field of attention they are interchangeable. What a science shall be called is decided by the reciprocal movement of the same continuous transitive subject matter under the instruments of selective attention. The subject matter is men in action in some system of relationships. When those relationships are what is called "political," when they bind together men with the material, the instrumentalities, and the languages of government, you have "political science." Political science is the attentive response of various temperaments to a special pattern of associative action among men usually called citizenship. It is thus psychology twice over. It is psychology as the behavior of the political scientist; it is psychology as the behavior of the citizen.

IV

That political science should be psychology has a paradoxical ring; but to state the paradox as I have just stated it is to discover it for the truism it so obviously is. Living political science never was anything but psychology, a critical analysis of the behavior of men in their civic relationships. Living political science never will be anything else. But currently, psychology, as a special discriminative process of selective attention at work on the undiscriminated life of man, has attained a high importance. Its perspectives are momentous; its stuff, as hardly a generation ago was the stuff of biology, is looked to as background, nourishment, and source of preconceptions in the other social sciences. And because it has its own institutional organization, because it is a special discipline with its own tools, technique and vocabulary, many feel uneasy until they acknowledge its presence, so they look it up in the *Encyclopaedia Americana* under the letter S, and they look up political science under the letter P, and combine their information.

Combinations of this kind are very different things from the psychological political science whose advent was signalized with

Graham Wallas' *Human Nature in Politics*, and whose current manifestations are as various as the historical surveys of Jenks and contemporary analyses of Walter Lippmann. In these latter political science is a new thing with a new method and a new form. Psychology has overflowed it and it has undergone a genuine mutation. That its advances have—quite like the advances of the other social sciences—been always of this nature—a mutation and redirection resulting from the overflow of another discipline is a point of critical interest.

The causes and the forms of these overflows now concern us. The social and intellectual milieu in which theories live and work and whence, when they die, they pass into the immortality of the schools, underwent during the nineteenth century a high degree of transformation. Two revolutions changed its character and activities and added to its elements. The first was the well-known industrial revolution which is made much of in texts on economics, and which is now by way of receiving mention in texts on political science. The second is the intellectual revolution brought about by the statement of the observations, discoveries, and hypotheses of Charles Darwin, and sublimated finally in a technique whose apparatus varies with each intellectual craft, but which is called by a single name. This name is the "genetic method."

Neither event needs elaboration here. The consequences of the installation and multiplication of the automatic machine have been a basic uprooting and dislocation of the community; an increase of cities; a rise in population; an enormous enhancement of the movement of groups and individuals; a manifold confrontation, clash, and equilibration of their qualities, interests, and ends. Particularly there has been a speeding up. The slow, circular rhythm of the daily life, inalterative and almost inert, which is still characteristic of pre-industrial communities, has been displaced by a rapid, rectilinear one. Its waves with their peaks and troughs are more numerous and closer together. We have been made aware of the exaltations and depressions of the business-cycle. The cake of custom has been broken up; the stream of tradition has been overflowed from

new, discontinuous alien springs. Society has become a manifold dynamic of rapid, hazardous change.

The "genetic method" is an apparatus both for the intellectual expression of this change, and for its envisaging, measurement and manipulation in the social sciences. It is extended backward and forward in time according to desire or expediency. It is dependent on mutational data of which it fills out the temporal connections and consequentialities. Dialectic, the logic of mathematics and physics, is secondary to it, and mostly irrelevant. The wide, pleasant, secure order of genera and species, of necessary laws and immutable classes has been undetermined at its foundations. Although not shattered and swallowed up in the quicksand which is evolution, its authority has been destroyed. It and the logic of it, with its rigidities of equations and identities of differents, no longer arrest the onward movement of thought. They only delay it.

Not that even in their palmiest days these logical orders did not themselves undergo the influence and impact of the social milieu into which they were born, in which they lived, came to authority, and were dethroned. On the contrary, the establishment of this authority, its maintenance and its repudiation, are consequences and symbols of arrangements of living interests, of wants and hungers seeking nourishment, of ambitions seeking attainment, of fears, loves, and hatreds in a play of conflict and coöperation. The foundation assigned for this authority is, as I have already sufficiently argued, *human nature*, and human nature is preëminently the theme of psychology, and the fundamental preconception of the social sciences, with political science, of course, among them. This human nature, however, is not itself an immutable thing, the same through the generations of political thought. Conceptions of it alter with the alteration of the interests dominant in a people's life at any given time. These interests are regarded as its true inward stuff, as the living go of it, its embodiment and essence. Periods of integrated action and coöordinated interests carrying on to their natural conclusions, elaboration, and culmination, take their human nature for granted. Their social—or for that matter, their

divine—sciences, consist in arguing from a forgotten premise to a conventually acceptable conclusion. Differences are sectarian, that is, they take their departure from the same major premise. This was the case in the theological middle ages. This was the case of the Galilean world of Spinoza and of Newton, of Buffon, and of Voltaire. This was not the case in the world of Plato, of Bacon and Lionardo, of Darwin, of William James, of John Dewey. Their lives and worlds were times of social and intellectual conflicts, of the vivid, the bitter, the tragic confrontation and clash and mutual destruction of interests, without any dominant. In such times a revision of the preconception becomes inevitable. Automatically it passes from the unconscious fringe of attention into its focus. Dominant interests penetrate it, give it body, life, form. Discussion of it becomes widespread; redefinitions are prepared and presented, definitions designed to sustain and to shield one group of the specific animating interests in play, to attack and to demolish some other, opposing, group. Such definitions then fertilize also the other sciences of man. They become ancillary—auxiliaries and militia, if you please—to the intellectual shock troops that hold the center of the field of dispute. A genuine, and organic, combination of information is effected, even though the universes of discourse combined are as alien to one another as China under the letter C and metaphysics under the letter M. Passion is a potent, indeed an omnipotent unifier. There are no conceptions that it will not weld, if only it be hot enough.

The times current are preëminently times of the confrontation and clash of dominant interests. The array of social classes against one another has become more self-conscious, more intense, more articulate. The battle is joined in various groupings, at a multiplicity of levels and with a diversity of munitions. And behold! the preconception regarding human nature is in the foreground again and the psychologists are having their day. Each discipline appeals to them for final authority, each interest chooses its experts in human nature according to its need. The psychoanalysts or the behaviorists, the parallelists or the interactionists, all are sources of aid and comfort. But

the human nature which is finally invoked by any group is extraordinarily like an image of that group under the drive of its ruling passion. The preconception of human nature is as varied as the classes that found upon it their dialectic of self-rationalization. Each dialectic is a contribution to social science. Each dialectic is equally an essay in psychology.

V

Need it be argued that this situation obtains preëminently in political science? That living theories of politics are the inventions of embattled interests, their engines of survival and victory? There was Plato, the Plato of the *Laws* no less than the Plato of the *Republic*. Scion of an aristocracy more competent and beautiful than any since its brief day, he witnessed the deposition in the midst of war, of his whole class, its privileges cut off, its excellencies denied. What are his great adventures into political theory but superstructures of a state upon a foundation of innate immutable qualities of human nature—everlasting and impassable caste differences growing up and coming to fruition in the burdens and disciplines, the privileges and responsibilities of artizan, soldier, and sage? Do Aristotle's compact review of governments and praise of monarchy and defense of property require another cause than this same ideal of a society of necessary natural strata, whose paragon is the rich, well-born, generous nobleman of magnanimous mind? How else should a tutor of Alexander have written of states, and held the reverence and regard of his pupil?

From the statesmanship of Plato and Aristotle to the last speculations of the sovietists and guild socialists, there is not a single conception which has set patterns for the political sciences that has not had for its dynamic an imperilled interest battling to survive, the passion of it generating an image of human nature propitious to itself, and establishing its sanction and sanctuary for its rights and authority through this image. Think of the contrary rôles such a conception as "natural right" has played in the history of political thought. In the ancient world a sym-

bol of the recognition by government of the importance to it of the fertile masses, securely domiciled upon the land and working it, and so registered through Stoic philosophy and Roman statute, natural right became in the Christian world first a symbol of the struggle of secular life against the domination of ecclesiastical privilege; then a symbol of the concern of defeated ecclesiastical privilege to recover its lost prestige. But that the rights of man should be *natural* it was necessary that man should be natural also. Accordingly, his natural rights required installation in a new human nature. He ceased to be an immortal soul whose home is heaven and who is a stranger here, and became a creature earth-born and earth-bred, with inalienable rights arising out of his constitutive interests. When Catholic political philosophers took up the conception, the alteration in human nature in which it is implicated was needed to be reconciled with the demands of theological privilege. Such reconciliation as, for example, Suarez accomplished, was much more, however, a compromise of divinity than of nature. Ecclesiasticism also was compelled to make use of the new psychology of the time in order to rationalize its battle for its old position. The use of the concept in successive stages of the changing community of Europe required, in accordance with the changes, mutations in the constitution of human nature. The natural good man of Rousseau, of Shaftesbury, of Hume, and the unutterably autonomous isolate sure reason of Kant are all forms of the rejection of feudal landed prerogative by an increasingly powerful middle class, shackled in its industrial and commercial activities by sumptuary law, the taxing power, and the customary survivals of guild organization. Godwin's *Political Justice*, a work that deserves a far better fate than has befallen it, utters the ultimate dialectical casting-off of the whole burden. *Laissez faire* is the gospel. As industry grows, and the activities of the class come free, the aboriginal autonomy of the natural man gives way to a subordination of countable purposes. His reason ceases to be pure and becomes practical. The bookkeeping of business becomes a calculus of consciousness. Man becomes a creature of accountancies who records profit and loss of pleasures and

pains in his always necessarily unrestrained making and selling and buying. Human nature becomes an arithmetical thing, the theme of associationist psychology. The arithmetization of its elements finds its classic expression in Bentham's felicific calculus. The perception of the discontinuity of means and ends of processes and products which life in an industrial community stresses, finds its noblest utterance in the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill.

The political conflict of which this doctrine is an extension is the struggle between defeated but still insurgent democratism and victorious but still insecure legitimism. The legitimists, to justify their claims, require a psychological counter. So they in their time revise human nature. If hereditary privilege is no longer to be sanctioned as of divine right then it, too, must be sanctioned as of natural right, and how can special privilege be a natural right, if in nature each man is autonomous and all men are equal? The autonomy of men can be obviated by reinstalling them in the community of whose life their life is a part; of whose past they are themselves the continuous present, whose future this past is making presently in and through them. Custom, tradition, the evolutionary sequence of ordered change become very important. The continuity of institutions becomes the unchanging road over which the generations move. The church, the monarchy, the nobility are such institutions; therefore organs of the survival and progress of the state; vindicated in nature and essential in politics. The equality of men is nullified in another way. It is nullified *more Darwinis*, again in terms of a natural process. Men are not born into a vacuum. They have ancestors from whom their qualities are an inheritance. They live in an environment which selects or rejects their qualities. That the qualities are not equal is manifest in the inequalities of their destiny. The process of inheritance and the process of selection are coördinate and continuous. Monarchy and aristocracy hence hold their privileges as of right and not by the accident or violence of fortune.

The preconceptions of this argument constitute, obviously, a new and contrasted view of human nature to that which underlay

the French Revolution. They motivate the romantic conservatism of Burke; the catholic modernism of Chateaubriand and Lammenais; the mediaevalism of St. Simon, the legalistic conservatism of Sir Henry Maine. All these students of government are minds responding stressfully to events, demanding the resolution of their conflict into a security which did not come. It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon Sir Henry Maine. A lawyer, therefore habituated in the technique of the craft of moving from precedent to precedent, he had also been an administrator in India and witness to the inordinate integration of men there into communities by ancient custom and intraceable tradition. Continuity was more obvious to him than discreteness. But this continuity had for a generation been undergoing challenge at the hands of the rabble. From the extension of suffrage in 1867 to the constitutional crisis of 1884, it was under the constant threat of interruption by the expansion of the political power of the masses. His *Popular Government*, consequently, is an argument that democracy is fragile, incompetent, and by its insistence on the redistribution of the good of life, impoverishing to the commonwealth. Significantly, he cites the constitution of the United States as an example of conservative checks upon democracy.

Maine's method, which has received the almost exclusive eulogium of "the historical method," was, it will be seen, necessitated by the position of his conservative interest in a world in which the revolutionary conception of the natural man with his natural rights were the liberal rule. His *Human Nature* was itself revised to harmonize with the exigencies and technique of his method, and his borrowings from biology were simply the drawing up of auxiliaries in the argument. In a similar way Walter Bagehot's more obvious psychology of real imitation and mythological instinct got a biological dress and was described by the author as "thoughts on the application of the principles of natural selection and inheritance to political society."

That it has been used also in defence of "democracy" does not militate against its conservative implications. Largely this use has been associated with the programs of nationalism, and the

very essence of the nationalist conception of human nature is its social continuity through custom, tradition, and group culture. A nation is always a "historic" being and justifies itself—both in its virtues and its crimes (particularly in its steals, if the peace of Versailles is any guide), by its history. The great, the overruling, contribution of a psychological preconception to human nature as history is of course that of Marx. The materialistic conception of history is the explicit definition of human nature in terms of a very few ruling passions. There is no department of the social sciences which has not had to count with it, and its influence on the theory of politics, especially in the United States, is still crescent. The conservative counter to it here is even more significantly psychological in content. The inveterate battle-cry of conservatism, "you can not change human nature," draws for the defence of this valuable immutability not alone upon a resurrected Spencerism, but upon mental measurements in school and army, upon the psychological import of anthropology, eugenics, and law. In recent debate it has promulgated a new natural right—the "right to work"—and it will no doubt find among the many sages whose wisdom beams amid the advertising pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*, a reformulation of human, or rather workman, nature, in which this right, with its ramifications in such interests as "freedom of contract," "private property," and so on, which are so important to open-shop employers, will be as constitutive as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness used to be.

Indeed, wherever there is a confrontation of group interests, wherever a conflict requires a resolution or adjustment, there theories of human nature arise or are drawn upon whereby these interests will be vindicated or victorious. The history of the theories shows that they are themselves factors in the battle. Marxism may not have created the class struggle, but it has certainly served to intensify it, to render it more self-conscious and articulate. It has certainly delayed and without question modified the attribution in recent discussion of other motives than the economic to the history of civilization. It has reinforced those motives by its preferential treatment of them. Thus it generates

its own verification. The same thing is true of the conceptions of the *natural man* and the *national man*, and of any conception you choose to examine.

The times current are not less fertile in the generation of theories of political society than the past. Against the relentless integration of the different and remote parts of the world by the modern system of communications, against the confrontation by the same means of different cultures and different peoples with one another in every land where civilization has a status, against their regimentation in daily routine and life cycle by the automatic machine, against, in a word, the Great Society, men seek now an effective defence. Marxism has become comminuted. Human nature is now conceived to have other and equal motives in play than the purely economic ones. There is talk now of political pluralism and multiple sovereignties, with its vindication of the autonomy of the church in protestant countries, and its elaboration of a guild (a term borrowed from the middle ages) as contrasted with a democratic socialism. There is talk of syndicalism in Catholic countries, with its atheistic and purely industrial connotations. Pluralism as a political philosophy, syndicalism and guild-socialism as programs of political organization, can not carry on without a coördinating revision of human nature, a revision suggested already in the concept of the functional group by which the pattern of the argument in both these systems is determined. Whether they will borrow their psychological armament from behaviorism or a more sentimental type of psychological apparatus is not important. What is important is that they can not formulate a variant conception of political society without at the same time grounding it upon a variant definition of human nature whose variant trait is established in the special group interest to be advanced, defended, and vindicated.

So, then, if political science is not psychology, what is it?

THE NATURE OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

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In the introduction to his readings in political philosophy, Professor Coker says, "since the time of Plato there has been, in every philosophic age, some inquiry as to the justification of political organization in general, as to the relative merits of different political forms, and as to the appropriate position and privileges of the individual as master, member, or subject of the political order of society. Why do we have political organization? What in our present condition do we owe to it? What future benefits may we properly expect to derive from it? Are its purposes characteristically manifold and changing, or are they ultimately reducible to a few limited objects or to some single end? What is its best form? Who should control it? What is its proper relation to the ideas and sentiments of the community at its basis? What spheres of individual and social life is it incompetent to enter? Philosophers and publicists of various types have sought to answer these questions in abstract terms."

If an analysis be made of the questions with which political thought has been concerned, it is found that emphasis was placed at various periods upon widely different types of problems. In the medieval period political controversy centered in the contest for supremacy between spiritual and temporal authorities; in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the dominant interest was in the contest between monarchic and democratic theories of political organization; at present, the extent of state activities has come into prominence, and the connection between political and economic interests is especially close. Besides, political conditions have changed so greatly from age to age that the same problem had quite different meanings at different periods. Thus,

in the eighteenth century, liberal thinkers favored individualism because they wished to limit the activities of governments controlled by irresponsible monarchs. Today the same type of thinker is likely to hold a moderate socialistic point of view, and to favor the extension of governmental regulation and control. When political power was transferred from king to people, the reason for fearing it disappeared; and government came to be looked upon as a servant whose actions promoted general welfare and should be extended, rather than as a tyrant whose power should be curbed. Moreover, few thinkers have attempted to build up a consistent and comprehensive theory of the state. Men have usually been interested in some particular phase of political existence that seemed important to their time. It is therefore difficult to make a complete and logical outline of the problems that political theory has attempted to solve. Some of the most important and some that have appeared most frequently may, however, be pointed out.

Considerable attention has been given to the origin of the state. In the uncritical past, when historical knowledge was slight, numerous attempts were made to account for the beginnings of political institutions. Among the most widely held were the divine theory, which considered the state to be established by the authority of God; the force theory, which found the origin of the state in the compulsory subjection of the weak to the strong; and the social contract theory, which viewed the state as the deliberate creation of individuals by means of voluntary agreement or consent. Only recently have the expansion of historical knowledge, the rise of a critical historical attitude, and the acceptance of the principles of evolution made possible a satisfactory theory of state origin.

Ideas concerning the proper size of the state have undergone marked changes. The Greeks considered the city to be the desirable type. After the establishment of the Roman Empire, the ideal of a world state dominated men's minds for centuries. In modern times, the national state, based on geographic and ethnic unity, has been considered natural, though somewhat modified by the imperialistic conception of colonial empire. In

recent years the ideal of world federation has also appealed to many.

Many thinkers have given attention to the nature of the state and to the source and rational justification of its authority. The anarchist finds no justification for the existence of coercive authority and would abolish the state completely. Most writers justify the state either as a necessary evil or as a desirable thing in itself. The basis for this justification shows wide variation. Some viewed the state as divinely ordained; others considered it the necessary result of the innate political character of man. Some justified the state because of its obvious utility, holding that obedience to the state secured the greatest happiness of the greatest number; others rested its authority frankly on force, thus explaining, but making no attempt to justify, its existence; others based its authority on the consent involved in the original compact by which the body politic was created. Still others personified the state, and considered it the highest form of organism resulting from the process of social evolution. Many writers have found an ethical basis for the state, and have considered political life essential to the highest development of human personality. From this point of view the state represents the more universal and permanent aspect of the individual's own will, so that in obeying the state he is obeying his own best self.

Since the middle ages, political theory has been dominated by the idea of sovereignty. The earliest political philosophers found the source of authority in law; but the rise of national monarchies personified the state in the ruler, and conceived its essential relationship to be that between sovereign and subject. Attacks on royal power led to the theory of popular sovereignty, attributing ultimate political power to the entire body of citizens, and associating the concept of sovereignty with the state as a legal person, rather than with the ruler as an individual. The vague and non-legal nature of popular sovereignty led, during the nineteenth century, to elaborate attempts to locate sovereignty in various organs of government, on the basis of the separation of powers established by written constitutions. Endless difficulties, especially in federal states, were encountered in this attempt.

Besides, the concept of the absolute, supreme, and indivisible sovereignty of the state met difficulties, both in the existence of organizations within the state, which seemed to have a juristic life and authority of their own, and in the relations among states, where the theory of the equality and independence of sovereign states conflicted with actual inequalities and with various degrees of dependence. Contemporary political thought is making a considerable effort to recast the theory of sovereignty to correspond with present conditions.

Similarly, the conception of law has undergone various transformations. Originating as custom, supported by immemorial tradition and the prevailing belief in divine sanction, it was later considered as existing in nature, to be discovered and applied by human reason. When national monarchies were established, the will of the sovereign became a source of law. Finally, modern democracies have attained to the idea that law, as the will of the state, should be formulated and administered by popular governmental organs, and should be modified as occasion demands new rules to meet new social needs.

Besides, changing conditions modified the conception of the basis of political authority. At first the ruler was lord of his people. The state was a collection of individuals, sometimes without permanent abode; and obedience was a more or less personal matter, rendered to the chief or king because of his position in the kinship group, or his supposed relation to the gods, or his power as leader in war. As life became more stable, and agriculture and trade necessitated permanent homes, especially after feudalism associated the ideas of governing power and landholding, the concept of territorial sovereignty arose. Kings became lords of the land rather than of the people, and questions of citizenship and domicile became more important than those of religion and birth.

The form of government and the location of sovereign authority within the state have been constant sources of controversy in political theory. Whether political power should be centered in a single head, or limited to an aristocratic few, or widely distributed among the democratic masses, furnished much ground for dis-

cussion. Many thinkers also tried to establish the normal cycle in which the different forms appeared and succeeded one another. The method of selecting the monarch, the basis of aristocratic class distinctions, and the devices of popular government, with their complex checks and balances, offered further complications.

Theories of the process by which change in governmental organization might be accomplished, and of the rights of the people to assume a share in governing authority, have also been important. The rise of the masses from slavery to freedom was a slow and difficult process. The Greeks justified slavery by the dogma that nature made men unequal; the Romans, by the authority of the victor over the vanquished; the medieval church, by the doctrine of God's punishment for sin, and the right of Christians to rule over heathen peoples. Later theory added to these the principles of racial inequality and social expediency. Against slavery was urged the theory that men are brothers, by nature free and equal, and that no man has the right to hold his fellowman in subjection. The gradual adoption by all civilized states of written constitutions, representative assemblies, local self-government, and popularly chosen officials is the result of world-wide discussion concerning the rights of man and the best form of political organization. The nature of a federal state, and the relation of its component members to the union, also gave rise to serious controversy, especially in the United States. More recently, the question of direct versus representative democracy has been reopened. The basis of representation has also undergone changes. At first the social classes, nobility, clergy, and commoners in city and shire, sent their delegates. The idea of human equality and popular sovereignty led to the representation of territorial population groups, approximately equal in the numbers of their inhabitants. The present importance of economic organizations within the state has given rise to the theory of guild socialism, which would allow some representation at least to occupational groups within the state.

Wide differences of opinion have arisen over the proper scope of state activities. At one extreme is found an individualism that would limit the state to the narrowest exercise of authority and

leave to its individual citizens the widest possible sphere of free action. At the other extreme is a paternalistic socialism that would extend state action to the widest limits and submerge the individual in the political mass. Between these extremes all shades of opinion may be found. Certain activities are recognized by all as essential to state existence, but over a wide range of optional functions a great controversy is waged. The theory that views the state as divine in origin or as an organic personality naturally emphasizes the importance of the state; the theory that bases the state upon unjust aggression or upon voluntary agreement manifested by a social contract emphasizes the importance of individual liberty.

A considerable section of political thought has been devoted to the relations among states. At first states held the belief that they owed no obligations to any except peoples of their own race and religion. Strangers were enemies and had no rights, hence the existence of principles to regulate the relations among states was not admitted. Then, after the establishment of the Roman Empire, the ideal of world unity and of supreme authority vested in emperor or pope prevented for centuries the rise of a sound theory of international relations. However, commercial activities, diplomatic intercourse, and the waging of war gradually developed their own customs and principles. General doctrines were laid down concerning the independence and equality of states, the rights of neutrals, and the methods of carrying on hostilities by land and sea. Peace, under generally accepted rules, rather than unregulated war, came to be considered the normal relation among states. The nature of treaties, of confederations, and of international law gave rise to much political speculation; and ideals of world empire or world federation and of universal peace attracted the best thinkers of all ages.

Since political thought usually aims either to support or to attack existing political institutions and methods, it may be classified broadly as either conservative or critical. Theories of the conservative type arise from the attempts of men to explain and justify the political system under which they live, and to maintain the status quo. Such theories are usually created or

supported by the class in power and by those who benefit under the existing régime. They also represent the natural mental attitude of those who love law and order, and dislike confusion and change. The best example of this type of theory was the doctrine of divine right, by which the religious authority of the church was added to the political authority of the state, a supernatural sanction was given to law, and the position of the rulers made sacred and inviolable. This theory, which made resistance to the powers that be a sin as well as a crime, was mutually advantageous to the officials of the state and to the leaders of the church, and appeared frequently in the history of political thought as the support of autocratic authority and the opponent of reform.

Milder forms of conservative theory were represented in the laudation of the British constitution during the eighteenth century, in the writings of Montesquieu, Blackstone, and De Lolme, and in the general praise accorded to the American constitution by almost all American writers during the nineteenth century. By establishing a widespread belief in the perfection of existing institutions, they made change more difficult. Similarly, political policies may be crystallized into dogmas or shibboleths and receive unthinking support because, by constant repetition, they become imbedded in the national tradition. The Monroe Doctrine is an example of a conservative theory created by this process.

Those who hold conservative theories view changing conditions with emotions ranging from regret to alarm. When their theory no longer corresponds with actual conditions, they picture a golden age in the past, believe that the world is going to ruin, and long to return to the good old days. In this form, conservative theories become reactionary and usually disappear, often dying hard in their last efforts to resist inevitable change.

Critical theories arise in opposition to the status quo, and support efforts to change existing political institutions and methods. Such theories range from philosophical and imaginative utopias that have little apparent connection with actual life, and no likelihood of practical application, to the concrete

ideals of reformers who are aiming to remedy certain evils or to accomplish desired reconstruction. These latter vary from attempts to change some single device of organization, or to make minor readjustments in governmental activities, to wide-sweeping schemes of political reorganization or the creation of new political systems. Some of their advocates are willing to work slowly and through legal channels; others believe in immediate and revolutionary methods. Liberal theories thus shade off into various degrees of radicalism.

It is obvious that critical theories could not arise and become widespread until men had reached a considerable degree of political intelligence and were permitted freedom of thought and of discussion. Such theories are usually held by those who are not in power, who are not prosperous and happy under the existing régime, and who hope to better their condition by a change. Critical theory at its best is always constructive, since it includes, not only a generalization of facts, but also a valuation of tendencies. In destroying outworn and obsolete ideas, critical political thought implies an ideal of what ought to replace them. Such doctrines are dangerous to the powers that be, and during the greater part of human history have been forbidden and suppressed. Only occasionally, as in the Greek cities or in modern democracies, has it been possible to build up without serious opposition a critical political philosophy, or to accomplish by legal methods the reforms desired.

An important example of critical political thought was the doctrine of social contract and natural rights, as set forth by Locke and Rousseau. This theory served as the basis for the English revolution of the seventeenth century and the French and American revolutions of the eighteenth century. It attacked the divine right of kings and justified revolution and popular sovereignty. Modern socialistic doctrines furnish other examples of critical theory.

It is interesting to observe that when a critical theory is generally accepted and becomes successful in practice, it tends to become a conservative theory, making certain concessions to practical necessity, but endeavoring to maintain what it has

accomplished and to prevent further change. Thus the theory of natural rights, with its emphasis on individualism and on the safeguarding of personal and property rights, was a critical theory in the eighteenth century, attacking the autocratic and paternalistic governments of that day. At present the theory is used as a conservative support for the vested interests in an effort to prevent the extension of state regulation and control that the socialists demand. Similarly, if the socialistic organization of the state survives in modern Russia, its theory, after making certain compromises, will tend to maintain the existing order and to oppose further change.

Both conservative and critical theories have points of strength and weakness. Conservative theories, valuable in maintaining public peace and political stability, frequently prevent or delay much-needed reform. Critical theories, necessary to prevent stagnation and to secure healthy political progress, frequently represent the panaceas of ignorant fanatics or lead to political chaos and anarchy. The proper compromise in political thought between undesirable extremes of conservatism and radicalism is difficult to maintain, and a swing too far in one direction is likely to be followed by a reaction toward the opposite extreme.

Political theory has been accused, not only of being barren in practical results, but even of being fertile with disaster to actual politics. Burke said that one sure symptom of an ill-conducted state was the tendency of the people to revert to theories. Leslie Stephen believed that political philosophy was generally the offspring of a recent, or the sign of an approaching revolution. Professor Dunning observed that the crystallization of a political system into political philosophy usually sounded the knell of that system. It is true that theories that have outlived their usefulness have often stood in the way of progress, and that the fanatical ideas of ill-informed and unbalanced zealots have worked confusion. Against these criticisms may be set the fact that revolutions, furthered by political principles, have usually been of ultimate benefit to mankind, and that progress toward democracy, individual liberty, and international justice owes much to the doctrines of a long line of able thinkers.

It is sometimes urged that political philosophy, like all speculative thought, ignores reality, cannot be applied in practice, and utilizes legal fictions and absolute concepts which are untrue and dangerous. As with all social theory the complexity of the problems with which it deals prevents exactness. Political theories express tendencies rather than absolute principles, and when applied in practice must take into consideration modifying circumstances. Likewise, political concepts, such as the absolute sovereignty of the state or the equality of states, useful as working hypotheses, must not be pushed to extremes against obvious limitations in actual facts.

It is also said that political theory is incapable of giving definite answers to disputed questions, and that if one holds strong views concerning the rights of the individual on the best form of government, he cannot prove his position with any degree of finality. First principles in political theory, as in ethical theory, cannot be proved. They are the results of intelligent judgments or emotional intuitions. What the study of political theory can achieve is to bring men together in a common enterprise of reflection and discussion, so that they can define their terms and understand one another's viewpoint. If the result is mutual respect and toleration, the study of political principles is justified.

On the positive side, political theory may justly lay claim to certain values. It gives precision and definiteness to the meaning of political terms. This is a necessity for every science, but is especially valuable for political science, since its fundamental concepts, such as liberty, independence, democracy, nationality, and the like, are used freely by the average man, as well as by the student of politics. Moreover, political thought examines the actual meanings behind these terms, and is thus conducive to clarity and honesty of thought. It is a common device of demagogues to influence men's minds by the use of words that have acquired desirable or undesirable associations. Thus at present to call a thing "democratic" is to praise it, while to accuse a thing of being "radical" or "un-American" is, in the minds of most persons, to attach to it a certain stigma.

Many a word which has now become commonplace was once the embodiment of a great political passion; others are still effective forces in shaping history.

Political theory is valuable also as an aid to the interpretation of history. It gives an insight into the intellectual atmosphere of the past, and explains the motives underlying important political movements. In order to understand the past, one must know, not only what men did, but also what men believed and what they hoped for. In so far as the events of the past were shaped by human will, it is necessary to know the ideals which guided the will. Institutions are what they are in virtue of the ideals they embody. No one can understand the middle ages unless they are familiar with the controversy in political thought between the rival claims of emperor and pope. Nor can one appreciate the middle period of American history unless they understand the issue between the North and the South in terms of the political theory of sovereignty.

A knowledge of past political thought is also essential to an understanding of present day politics and international relations. The problems of the present have grown up out of conditions in the past, and the political principles that are now being applied are the result of the evolution of past political thought. The theory of separation of powers has had a constant effect on actual government in the United States, and the Monroe Doctrine has influenced our foreign policy ever since it was first stated. Similarly, the principle of the balance of power is fundamental in the international situation in Europe, and the ideal of the self-determination of nations bids fair to have far-reaching consequences.

Finally, political thought represents a high type of intellectual achievement and, like other forms of philosophic thought, has an interest and a value entirely apart from any practical application of its principles. Intelligent men naturally wish to understand the authority under which they live, to analyze its organization and its activities, and to speculate concerning the best form of political existence. The fact that many of the greatest thinkers of all time—Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Locke, Rousseau, Kant,

Mill, and many others—were concerned with the political aspects of philosophy is an indication of its importance as a form of intellectual effort.

There have long been two conflicting theories concerning the nature of political evolution. According to the one theory, government is not a matter of human choice, but is an inevitable natural growth in which the deliberate purposes of man have little part. After making some effort to untangle the bewildering facts of social life, Burke said, "I doubt whether the history of mankind is yet complete enough, if it ever can be so, to furnish ground for a sure theory on the internal causes which necessarily affect the fortune of a state. . . . We are therefore obliged to deliver up that operation to mere chance, or, more piously, perhaps more rationally, to the occasional interposition and irresistible hand of the Great Disposer." If this be true, the study of political theory, aside from its academic interest, is futile.

According to the other theory, government is merely a problem in human ingenuity, of determining what is best and adapting the means to the desired end. If this be true, no study would be more valuable than political theory. Each of these doctrines is untenable if pushed to its logical conclusion, yet in some compromise between them lies essential truth. "Long the victim of material forces, man has, by taking thought, made himself master of wind and wave and storm. May he not, by taking thought, lift himself above the social conflicts that destroy civilizations, and make himself master of his social destiny?"¹

¹ Beard, *The Economic Basis of Politics*, 11-12.

DEMOCRACY IN ADMINISTRATION

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When the late Dr. Charles McCarthy wrote *The Wisconsin Idea* he put into it a prediction and a warning which deserve our most thoughtful study in these days of increasing complexity of government. He saw several great dangers facing the commission plan of administration. It is one of these dangers with which we are concerned: "In spite of vigilance the stiffness and red tape of the bureau may eventually appear. . . . While some commissions may grow sluggish, others may be inclined to be arrogant toward their masters—the people. There should be some means whereby commissions may be called before the legislature in the same manner in which members of the English cabinet are subjected to questioning or interpellation in the British Parliament.

"In the case of the proposed Interstate Trade Commission, supplementing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the members should be subject to recall by a majority vote of Congress. It is the belief of the author that sooner or later such a plan will be developed in addition to the program which has been laid down in Wisconsin. When all is said there is no sure cure in commissions."

Ten years have elapsed since the publication of *The Wisconsin Idea*. Dr. McCarthy's prophecy has been justified by the event. In some measure, perhaps, the stiffness and red tape of the bureau, and arrogance and bureaucracy are to be found. The administrative commission is subject today to constant popular attacks. It is regarded as too expensive, as giving too many easy berths to job holders, as having become the tool of big interests against the interests of the people; as arbitrary—groups of self-styled experts who pass on matters upon which they know less than practical citizens whose advice they do not ask or heed.

The popular remedies for the failings of these administrative bodies take the form chiefly of proposed abolition of the whole body and return to "simplicity" in government; consolidation of many into fewer departments; reorganization of departments and reassignment of duties; reduction of the number of heads of departments so as to have a single commissioner instead of a board. Sometimes abolition of a whole department is recommended where there is great hostility to the head of it or to one man on the commission. Fear of increasing the work and power of these commissions is often at the bottom of reluctance to pass needed legislation which would logically be placed for administration under one of these commissions.

We cannot say that this fear is unjustified in the face of ordinary administrative methods. It is unfortunate, but if there are things which we want done collectively, we have to make some one responsible for doing those things. We have to tolerate administrators. No matter how well our administrative bodies are organized, they run the risk of being autocratic and making themselves obnoxious to the people. Is there any way by which these bodies of administrators can be made not only enduring but actually pleasing to the average citizen? Is there any way to assuage the fear of an inescapable bureaucratic system closing in inexorably on this average citizen, crushing his freedom and individuality, and depriving him of power over his own affairs and over his government? How can we avoid the creation of stiff, automaton creatures who will squeeze the very life out of government?

Those who believe that an increasing amount of collective control of certain essential services, whether by the nation, the state, or the local community, is desirable or inevitable may find comfort in certain developments in administration which suggest that the methods of governmental administrative bodies may be so changed that the danger of bureaucracy will tend to disappear. For even while the crude remedy of abolition of the individual commission or of the whole system of commissions is frequently suggested there is gradually developing in the minds of the people an understanding of the possibility of keeping these commissions as their servants instead of becoming slaves to them.

Dr. McCarthy predicted in *The Wisconsin Idea* that some day the people would see the necessity for keeping a string tied to their administrative officials by which they could remove them when they saw fit. For a good many years now, Wisconsin has actually been trying to tie that string to its administrative officials. At every session for years bills have been introduced to give the legislature power, after thorough hearing, to remove any appointive administrative official with whose work it is not in sympathy. The purpose of the hearing is to give the official a chance to explain his work. The performance is not at all in the nature of an impeachment. It does not carry with it necessarily any reproach to the official. It simply means that he is permitted to show whether or not his work is in line with the policy of the majority of the representatives of the people.

The idea is gradually gaining favor in Wisconsin. In 1915 when the new conservation commission was established, the provision for interpellation (legislative interrogation of administrative bodies) was inserted. In 1917 it was extended to all administrative bodies. In 1919 when the department of markets was established, the head of the department was made subject to legislative removal after proper interpellation. In that same year the bill to make all appointive officers subject to legislative removal was vetoed by the governor. In 1921 his successor vetoed a bill which started out similarly, but which had received amendments which the present governor felt emasculated it and destroyed its significance. But the principle is one which is generally accepted in Wisconsin by those who desire orderly progress in government.

Democracy in administration is thus coming through pressure from without. There are also developments within the commissions themselves which may in time revolutionize administrative procedure and substitute democracy for bureaucracy in administration. A second safeguard against bureaucracy appears in the growth of democratic methods within certain departments and the possibility of unlimited application of these methods to these departments and others.

There is an old saying that the longest way around is often the shortest way home. The economist has incorporated this

idea into his theory of the value of capital in increasing production—it makes possible a round-about process which yields far greater return than the simple direct process of hand labor. The hand labor may be apparently easy and simple and cheap, but in the production of large quantities of goods it is difficult and expensive. So with the short methods of administration of government business. The vigorous, resourceful, active young expert is in a hurry. He is impatient of delay. He wants to perform his state work efficiently and have some real results to display. He knows all about roads and he wants every one to feel how much he knows. Or he knows all about industrial conditions and he is in a hurry to set up a minimum wage which will protect working women at once. Or he knows all about cheese and how it ought to be graded for the market.

Now these men are chosen, or ought to be, because they do have valuable knowledge concerning their own field of work. But one of the easiest ways to get bureaucracy, and one of the poorest ways to maintain, or rather to obtain democracy, is to let them go ahead and use that knowledge without hindrance from outside. Suppose that the road man does know all about roads. Suppose he puts a fine road through a locality where the farmers have ideas of their own about how roads ought to be located and how they ought to be built—and that means every locality in the United States. The road the engineer builds may be scientifically one hundred per cent efficient. If the farmers think not, a storm of criticism falls upon the department which put it through. Suppose that the industrial commissioner or labor commissioner does have a deep insight into industrial conditions which enables him to fix a minimum wage for women which is scientifically perfect—which enables them to live in decency, and which yet creates no unwarrantable or unavoidable hardship to employer or consumer. It makes no difference how perfect his rule is, it will meet a storm of criticism and disapproval from all sides. Its author will have to spend the rest of his life explaining and defending it. Suppose the cheese expert can work out a grading system for cheese upon which it would be impossible to improve. That makes no difference. The cheese makers and cheese buyers

will attack his grades ferociously, and he will be compelled to defend them endlessly.

Meantime all these departments have to come up regularly for appropriations to carry on their work. They meet opposition because their work is not popular. The people do not like to have experts carry things over their heads with a high hand. They do not want public servants who insist on thrusting things down their throats for their own good. The people are not unreasonable. They want to be taken into the confidence of their "servants" and they have a right to the facts on which they form their opinions as to the value of that service.

An administrative commission may do its work in a democratic way. It may take the public into its confidence without loss. It may be worth while to mention here a few of the numerous instances in which this is accomplished in Wisconsin. The industrial commission and the department of markets offer perhaps the most obvious examples. The industrial commission is empowered to issue orders determining reasonable safety regulations, hours of labor for women and minors. It is required to determine the minimum wage for women and minors below which it is not safe to allow industry to go. In determining the proper safety regulations, the experts of the commission consult with numerous committees representing employers, employees, engineers, and others engaged in the line of work concerned. In determining its minimum wage orders, it has the advice of a large board—four employers selected by the commission on nomination of the employer organizations of the state, four employees selected by the commission on nomination of the employee organizations of the state, and four representatives of the general public selected by the others from lists offered by organizations of all kinds within the state.

To bring this board to an agreement is no easy task for the commission. One deputy who was worn out with the long drawn out performance observed: "It seems to me it would be far better for the commission to do it by itself without all this squabbling." But this deputy missed the significance of the "squabbling." It was not twelve people, but all the interests

in the state negotiating there. It was a tiresome thing—a difficult thing—but not half so difficult as would have been the task of appeasing a whole state if the industrial commission had arbitrarily fixed those orders. They might, and probably would, have been fixed at about the same place. But these orders went out with the sanction of representatives of the employers, of the employees, and of the general public. What could any of those groups do when their own representatives had agreed upon them?

But after all, the greater ease of enforcement is not the most cogent argument for the longer method. Twelve people, it must be remembered—four employers, four employees, an attorney, a professor, a Roman Catholic priest, and a lawyer, sat with the experts and listened to the public hearings held on their tentative orders. Twelve people studied industrial conditions all over the state in the best laboratory that could be set up. Twelve people went over the state listening to the stories of farmers, canners, manufacturers, merchants, club women, employed women, and labor representatives. These twelve people with their different backgrounds of experience, their different points of view, had to come together there and work out a definite program on the basis of their knowledge and experience. They had to study each other; to become acquainted with the different points of view they represented. Twelve people outside of a government department became acquainted with one phase of political administration, became a part of it, and took some of the responsibility for it.

But it was not merely the twelve who became a part of the machinery of administration. Every man and woman who appeared at the hearings likewise became a part of it and shared in its responsibility. The hearings developed into discussions of industrial conditions, and of theories and powers of government by people who were having actual experience in both. It was like an economics class, except that those who took part in the discussion had a pecuniary interest at stake—a reason for being painfully eager to have their own views accepted.

The best part of this method is the gradual change which comes over such a group as the day goes on and each one gets rid of

his pet grievance. The meeting begins belligerently, as a rule. Those who come to protest come in hostility not only to the orders, but to the principle of the law and to the commission. They come prepared to vent their spleen against the whole autocratic system of administration by commissions. As one man said at one of these hearings, in explanation of his violent tirade: "You must remember that these hearings are the only chance we have to tell you face to face what we think of you, and we want to make the most of it." There we have in a nut shell the whole philosophy of democracy in administration. A chance to meet the people face to face and learn what the people are thinking of them! Perhaps the people are thinking wrong. Here is the chance to set it right.

That is the way the minimum wage hearings work. Here misunderstandings concerning orders and penalties and the reasons for them—matters which are not directly concerned with the minimum wage—are cleared up. Here employers find out for the first time, often, what the law really is. Sometimes their hostility is founded upon misinterpretation. At any rate, every one goes away from these meetings better satisfied, with a better understanding of the desire on both sides to be reasonable and fair.

The marketing department, like the industrial commission, has many opportunities for contact with the people. It is empowered to investigate and determine upon reasonable standards for farm products and to require products to be sold under the guarantee of these standards. In fixing these standards two courses lie open to the department. First, it may employ an expert in cheese, an expert in cabbage, an expert in butter, an expert in potatoes, and so on, and leave to these experts the duty of determining the standards. Second, it may call together from all over the state people who are engaged in the business of producing and of buying and selling these products, representatives of farm organizations which are dealing with these products; and with the assistance of these people or groups interested it may determine standards which can be agreed upon as fairly reasonable. It is the latter course, the democratic rather than the bureaucratic, which the marketing department has tried to follow.

This does not mean the disappearance of the expert. Far from it. It means rather the disappearance of a lower type of expert—the mere specialist who lives in a narrow field of potatoes, or butter, or roads, or even child labor—and the appearance of a higher type. In fact the democratic expert must be even more expert than the autocratic one. He must know his subject so well that he can be the leader of the groups he calls together. His knowledge must be so great that his ideas will, in the main, stand up under all the attacks which critics can bring to bear. He must not only know his own special field thoroughly, but much more—he must be the student and philosopher who sees its relation to other things; the statistician who collects the facts which lead him to certain conclusions; the publicist who gets these facts to all the interested public; the diplomat who works with this same public and leads without forcing it in the direction which appears desirable in the light of the facts; the artist who invites constructive criticism of his work; above all the student of human nature, the lover of people with a faith in their ultimate ability to reach for themselves the right conclusions and to do for themselves things which he might do for them with less effort in the first instance, but which it is advantageous in the long run that they should perform for themselves.

When we come to the enforcement of administrative orders three roads again lie before the administrative commission. The commission may build up a great central force to inspect directly and report upon the enforcement of its orders, or directly to put those orders into operation. Or it may issue orders and leave it to local authorities to enforce them. Or it may use the local authorities or the people actually affected to enforce them, maintaining its authority and direction over this enforcement.

The earlier tendency of administration was to leave enforcement entirely to the local community. It was followed by a reaction toward centralization of enforcement. Our Wisconsin commissions have had a tendency toward entire centralization. Many of them have tried to keep their central offices in direct contact with the people affected. The industrial commission, for example, has expected its own supervisor and assistant super-

visors of apprentices to deal individually and personally with each apprentice and his employer. It has not used the local school authorities for this work. It has dealt with individual accident compensation cases, with individual cases of violation of the hours of labor, minimum wage, and safety regulations. As a general rule, the industrial commission, although its orders are determined after hearings held in various localities, secures enforcement through a special force of state deputies whose work is directed from the capitol.

The department of markets, on the other hand, has from the very beginning utilized local institutions to a considerable extent in the enforcement of its orders and the transaction of its business. Its dealings are so far as possible with groups rather than with individuals. Its orders are to a large extent self-enforcing inasmuch as they seek to put regulations and limitations upon a group which desires such regulation in its own interest and which has helped to determine what these regulations should be.

Its work lends itself to this method very easily. For example, after cheese standards have been determined upon, cheese makers may grade their own cheese because the name of each manufacturer is attached to each cheese and any violation of the order can be detected and traced to the violator. The condition of the product is a proof of the enforcement or lack of enforcement of the regulations. The potato grader from the state office is really an itinerant teacher going from warehouse to warehouse instructing the graders employed by the companies how to do their work. Local county agents may be called upon also for help. Coöperative organizations, like private concerns, can be utilized to do their own grading. In short, the position of the marketing department becomes to a large extent that of a state educational institution teaching and helping local officials to do their work.

The industrial commission is one of the departments in which the opportunities for self enforcement, or rather local enforcement, are not so evident. For this reason, perhaps, they have been neglected. This may be unfortunate. The close adherence to the policy of enforcement from the center makes necessary

the building up of a large enforcement body. The department is not nearly large enough to perform adequately the necessary work. It would take an enormous appropriation to perform all the work essential for the protection of men, women and children in employment. Popular opposition to the building up of such a great central police force is at the bottom of some of the reluctance to develop other services which should logically be rendered by the industrial commission and which are exceedingly necessary to the welfare of the employees of the state as well as the safety of the general public.

The question arises as to whether departments might not to a much greater extent than they now do, use local officials and local organizations to aid in their work. Might not local employers and employees, at least in the large manufacturing centers of the state, advantageously be entrusted with the responsibility of enforcing the regulations made by the industrial commission with the coöperation of employers and employees? Wherever employers are organized and employees are organized it ought to be possible to secure a committee representing these two groups and perhaps the general public, whose duty it would be to assist the industrial commission in the enforcement of its findings. The work of the industrial commission would then become largely a work of instruction. The deputy of the industrial commission would discuss with this committee the meaning of the various regulations. This would insure that a few employers and employees, the members of the committee at least, would understand thoroughly the state regulations. That is probably more than can be said today.

Much of the difficulty between the commission and the employers arises through misunderstanding either of the details of the orders or of the fundamental reason for promulgating them. The regular meeting of a thoroughly informed representative of the industrial commission with a committee of employers and employees in each city with opportunity for unlimited discussion would probably do much to allay distrust of the commission. It would be a great saving over the present system by which the deputy goes from one individual employer to another patiently

explaining the same points to each. On the representatives of the employers and the employees could be placed the responsibility for carrying these explanations back to their groups. This would mean the education of many more in the purposes and principles of the state government. It would mean that the central administrative body, instead of being regarded as a distant bureaucracy for the grinding out and enforcement of orders, might come to be regarded as a strong force coöperating with the local communities in solving their problems and showing authority only when the community itself failed. Discussion of the orders which would take place frequently in the localities would result in suggestions for change, so that the orders would gradually become in essence a growth out of local conditions—not orders at all in fact, but the results of the experience of the state expressed through local committees. To place the responsibility for enforcing the regulations directly upon employers and employees themselves would be most wholesome. It would make them actually agents of their government. It would make it impossible for them to shirk responsibility for their own neglect. Employers who knew that the eyes of other employers in the community were on them to insure that they live within the regulations would be much more interested in living up to them than now when they have to submit to the occasional inquisition of a state department. If they knew that their own employees were instructed in the regulations and were interested in carrying them out they would be much more assiduous in their enforcement.

As an example of the way the democratic method might be put into operation let us take the enforcement of the building trades regulations. Wherever this industry is made up, as it is in the principal cities of the state, of highly organized employers and highly organized intelligent employees, it would seem that an employee of the state coming in to see that individuals obey the law ought to be superfluous. Why not place the moral responsibility for guarding the public safety jointly upon the building trades employers and employees themselves? Many instances can be found where organized employees have protested against

violations of sanitary and safety regulations. If they were given definite responsibility for finding out and living up to regulations made with the advice and consent of their own representatives we should not have the sorry spectacle of a building inspector arriving on the scene a few days after a serious violation of the rules of which every man working on the building was aware.

The sending out of deputies of the industrial commission to enforce directly the regulations of the state may prove to be a real menace to the public welfare and to democracy,—as it soothes the individual employer and employee into a feeling that he has no responsibility for the public safety, or that his responsibility extends only to being able to pass the criticism of the state department. It would be far better if the state deputy could meet regularly with a representative local group to advise it on problems which have arisen in individual cases. As a last resort, he would be more powerful than he is now.

State administration can be democratized and to a certain extent decentralized. But the fact that it calls upon the local communities for assistance does not mean that its own services are any less necessary. They are simply less arbitrary. They are certainly less dangerous. The change in methods removes one of the chief objections to the laying of new burdens upon the machinery of the state. Without these safeguards people hesitate long before they create new machinery or place upon the old any new functions, however pressing the demand for them may be.

One of the duties which will probably fall more and more heavily upon the state department of markets is the supervision of cooperative and publicly owned marketing facilities. Many cities which look forward to publicly owned enterprises, look askance at the possibility of state supervision. Yet it is not reasonable that every young organization should start out for itself without regard to past disastrous experiences. The state department of markets ought to furnish the background of information necessary to make an auspicious beginning. It ought to help them to set up the right kind of accounting systems and ultimately perhaps to coördinate their buying and selling power throughout the state.

But cities are afraid of a stiff, inflexible state commission getting control over their enterprise and interfering constantly. They would have less need to fear if they made their own local administration of the business democratic. If the city sets up one administrative head for the undertaking and if the supervising representative of the commission transacts all his business with this one man then there is danger of the commission becoming dictatorial. But if for the supervision of the local business there is organized a group of interested citizens, a board of directors, representative of different groups in the community; and if the visits of the representative of the state department include as a part of their purpose the education of this board on the best business practices throughout the state, so that the director or manager of the business is not left alone but is upheld by this interested group, then the state department will be of real assistance to the community. Moreover it will receive many valuable suggestions from the experience of these various representatives of the community.

In the development of our schemes of public ownership of public utilities, we need to be on guard locally to see that the same bureaucracy does not creep in here that always menaces state administration. There is no more justification for local tyranny in management than for state tyranny. At present the city council acts as the board of directors for publicly owned utilities—for water, gas, and electric light plants. If local public ownership should develop to any great extent it is doubtful whether the council could act in that capacity efficiently for all the different types of work. It might prove to be wise for the council to appoint separate bodies representing the various interested groups for the management under state supervision of each important utility. This will be especially true in the case of milk distribution, or the handling of other food products. Our fear of getting things into politics which holds us back from many valuable enterprises is based on an idea of concentrated power in the hands of a small group, such as the city council. A decentralization of this power and of the details of administration would not only remove some of the grounds of fear, but it would also

bring about the very wholesome effect of drawing more people into the effective service of government. The state official who came into contact with these different groups would be really a sort of educator giving them the benefit of his experiences in the industry they are trying to run.

All this is making government more complicated. Quite true, democracy is complicated; monarchy may be simple. As we go towards democracy government does become more complex. Bringing more and more people into the electorate means more education. Taking more and more things to perform coöperatively necessitates education. But while government demands education government also gives education. It is education. We might change the proverb "that government is best which governs least" to "that government is best which educates most." We might say beware of the merely simple in government. The simple may mean that a few can control the many. Democratic control works awkwardly, it works clumsily, but it works steadily.

We have been absorbed in securing the forms of democracy in legislation. The important thing before us today is the problem of democracy in administration. The big problem for political science is the problem of making and maintaining contacts between administrators and the people.

"That sounds like a milk and water proposition you are putting up," said one commissioner. "Education is all right in its place, but sometimes you need the mailed fist in administration." We certainly do. But anyone who thinks that education is a milk and water proposition has never been engaged in educating. The method of furnishing information and assisting local groups to work out their own salvation requires not only more statesmanship but actually more firmness than the arbitrary method. It is easier to make an order hastily in the dark, issue it suddenly and stick your head in the sand when the criticism begins, than to invite the criticism from the beginning and let it wear itself out or prove itself false. The democratic way is the harder. It requires more strength and courage. It is easier in the first instance to do a thing one's self than to teach others to do it. But no

business can expand far in which one man insists on looking after all the details himself. Government can never be more than a "one horse" affair side-stepping all chances for expansion of duties even where such expansion is in the public interest, except as it can secure public servants who know how to utilize every organization which can be adapted to their purpose.

The definite encouragement of democracy in administration is a task which should be prosecuted vigorously by political scientists. The great problems of administration today are not merely problems of external organization. They are also problems of exposure to public opinion and of sane utilization of the public interest in government. In the long run the success of administration will depend upon the degree of exposure, the frequency and constancy of contact between administrators and the public. Experience in industrial government will show, I believe, that in those industries in which the contact between representatives of employers and employees is regular and constant and according to definite rules, as at Hart, Schaffner and Marx in Chicago, and William Filene's Sons in Boston, the results are best. To some who look at it superficially, it may seem that the regular contact invites bickering; that it results in magnifying petty grievances which would be overlooked and forgotten if contact were at longer intervals. But those who look below see something wholesome in the bickering and the airing of petty grievances. The trade board becomes a mirror for management. These petty minor grievances reflect the weak points in the administration of the industry. Large grievances are averted by prompt adjustment of small ones. Close and constant contact educates each group in the problems and points of view of the other. The mailed hand (or the cloven hoof) of organized labor or of organized capital is seldom in evidence. Constant and prompt adjustments have made its use almost unnecessary. The diplomat and the teacher are replacing the military type in such organizations as these. But the system is not easy. It grows in complexity. Always it is requiring a higher and higher type of person. But it is itself developing the higher type which it requires. In the long run all industry must recognize this principle. So must the state.

LEGISLATIVE NOTES AND REVIEWS

EDITED BY WALTER F. DODD

Governors' Messages.¹ Truly there is a greater similarity in governmental conditions and problems among our American states than one would guess. Perhaps this impression, gained by reading the messages of the governors, is stronger than the actual facts of the situation would warrant, due to a probable tendency among the executives to be influenced by the form and content of the messages of their predecessors and contemporaries. Admonitions regarding economy; suggestions of the need of coöperation; comments on the state institutions, the burden of taxation, the deserts of agriculture, and so on, recur with reliable frequency. The composite contents at ten year intervals would show considerable variation. No doubt the average emphasis changes fairly often. For instance, advocacy of the budget and of reorganization is less noticeable than a few years ago. The more pronounced features for this year are taxation, highways, finance, law enforcement, administrative reorganization, coöperative marketing and credits, education, and local government. Many executives assert that the people will approve the legislators in proportion as they enact few laws, repeal unnecessary legislation, and take a prompt adjournment. "They demand a closed season on legislation," says Governor McCray; and "a few wise laws are more to be desired than a multiplicity of freak statutes," opines Governor Morgan.

In length the messages run all the way from the scant two pages of retiring Governor Olcott to the modest volume of 196 pages of retiring Governor Robertson, which lists and describes the state offices and plants in detail, although practically devoid of recommendations. Although considerable portions of a number are spirited, relatively few

¹ Forty-one legislatures meet in regular session this year. All the governors' messages are reviewed here except those of Florida and Georgia, where the sessions begin in April and June respectively. The messages of Georgia and Louisiana for last year are included, also the messages of retiring governors in New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Nebraska, California, and Oregon. The names of the governors may be found in the *World Almanac*.

of the messages carry the tone of aggressive leadership. In several instances this may be in part the result of the predominance of an opposite party in the legislature—as in Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, New York,—and in part no doubt to the governor's unwillingness to confine himself to a few leading issues. Governor Hardwick of Georgia devoted about half of a vigorous message to the subject of reorganization, especially in the administration of finance, and the remainder largely to an appeal for tax reform. Half of Governor Small's (Illinois) negative message dealt with expenditures for highways and waterways, and the remainder chiefly reviewed the activities of the several state agencies. Governor Parker of Louisiana almost exclusively summarized the reports from the state officers and institutions. Perhaps the most vigorous messages are those of Hardwick, Morrison, Neff, Pinchot, and Smith, with no very clean-cut distinction between these and some others. Governor Neff submitted, in addition to a brief inaugural address, copies of a series of speeches which he had recently delivered in the state. Each one begins with a scriptural quotation, that on the need for a constitutional convention with "No man seweth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment," and that on taxation with "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."

Taxation. Brandon of Alabama would reduce the burdens of taxation partly by lessening exemptions—"All property, now exempted by special laws, whether of individuals, except cemeteries, schools, and public buildings, churches and eleemosynary institutions, and certain necessary household goods, poultry and possibly a cow and calf, should be taxed"—; increasing the privilege tax on mortgages; reaching intangibles; and imposing a \$2 poll tax on every citizen, to be used as a school fund. He would abolish tax adjusters, and permit no assessor or collector to succeed himself after a two year term. McRae of Arkansas, admitting gross inequality between districts and tax-payers (only $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of the total assessment is on intangibles) would give up the property tax for the state, substitute county boards of equalization for the township assessors, and resort to inheritance, income, insurance, business and franchise taxes, and the extension of the poll tax to females. Hunt of Arizona recommends an extension of time for the payment of delinquent taxes in order to permit the harvesting of one or two crops. Sweet, of Colorado, where only $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the taxes are collected from intangibles, favors an income tax.

Denney of Delaware makes the interesting statement regarding highways expense that "a comparatively small portion of it is borne

directly by the people." He believes that both parties in pledging their candidates for the legislature to a repeal of the act requiring all persons to make an income tax return "acted more or less through fear," and that the tax is unpopular because it "comes nearer reaching every adult person than anything heretofore attempted." He defends the principle vigorously and disapproves, as a substitute, a fee for the privilege of voting. Hardwick, preliminary to a forceful advocacy of the income tax, shows the result of a constitutional limit of the state tax rate to five mills—the pleasure with which the legislature voted appropriations without any consequent responsibility for high tax rates. Small would in some indefinite way "compel hidden wealth to bear its just share of the expenses of government," would consider increasing the inheritance tax, and would investigate other means of indirect taxation. McCray of Indiana would empower the state board of tax commissioners to reassess any property, and require a local rehearing on petition of taxing officers or ten taxpayers. It is suggested that local officials be prohibited from voting any loan after the tax levy has been fixed, except on the approval of the state board, and that punishment be provided for local officers who fail to submit and publish a budget. Kendall of Iowa recommends county assessors instead of the 2000 township assessors, the assessment of property at full value, and the final control over all assessments in an appointive state board. He seems to approve taxes on motor oils, amusements, incomes, corporate franchises, and perhaps cigars. Groesbeck of Michigan thinks it practicable to collect a small tax on intangibles, and would no longer exempt government securities.

Davis of Kansas explains the unjustifiable causes of increased taxation as the pressure of organized minorities and special groups, often officeholders, political parties, and social groups; the desire of those who distribute public funds to share more richly in those funds by having them freely expended; the lack of coördination in a governmental organization not yet adapted to the more complicated conditions of a fuller industrial and commercial development; the greater liberality of men with what belongs to all than with their own. The governor wanted it "clearly understood that my pledges to the people of Kansas are not for a definite amount of tax reduction, as has sometimes been erroneously stated, but are for a persistent and a determined effort to make such reductions as can be made without impairing the efficiency of a single institution or activity of government necessary to the social or political well being of the people of the state." He

proposes a restoration of the lower salaries of 1917, cooperation between the banking department and the tax commission to get at money on hand, the use of the same valuation of public utilities for taxation as for rate making, and an income tax. In Minnesota 69 per cent of the increase in taxes between 1911 and 1921 went to educational purposes and roads and bridges, expenditures for the former increasing 237 per cent and for the latter 465 per cent. Governor Preus contends that, these items excluded, state taxes increased only 35 per cent and that the rate actually decreased 32 per cent. He proposes a tax on the royalties from iron ore mining and on incomes, differentiating between earned and unearned, in lieu of taxes on any or all classes of personal property, with the specific exemption of household goods and farm products on hand. Hyde of Missouri sturdily defends state expenditures,—“The state has certain definite duties to perform. Economy should be measured in terms of results accomplished in the performance of those duties. Efficiency is economy.”

Montana's 1 per cent corporation tax fell off from \$786,000 in 1917 to about \$100,000 in 1922, the license tax from \$320,000 to about \$25,000, while the delinquent tax list approximates \$10,000,000. It is recommended by Governor Dixon that all such taxes be canceled by 1924 upon payment of the original tax, advertising costs, and 7 per cent interest. The inheritance tax was urged, a flat tax on oil and ore instead of the “net proceeds” tax, a moderate, graduated income and a 3 per cent license tax on the gross proceeds of hydro-electric power companies.

In Nebraska both messages recommended an income tax, McKelvie with allowance to the taxpayer for taxes paid to the state in other forms, and Bryan with discrimination in favor of earned incomes. Both also advised an increase in the inheritance tax. McKelvie favors the taxation of publicly owned utilities, and Bryan would tax public utilities on rate making valuations, repeal the provision of the last legislature for taxation of intangibles at one-fourth the rate on tangibles, and exempt such tangible property as unsold grain on the farm.

Scrugham of Nevada recommends a constitutional amendment to permit the classification of property for purposes of taxation, and would have the state tax commission assess live stock. A. O. Brown notes a popular support in New Hampshire for the income tax since its defeat in 1920 and 1921. He states that there is now in existence a constitutional convention which might be reconvened for a day to submit an

income tax amendment. If New Hampshire can thus keep a sort of sleeping convention on hand to be awakened at will, it will not seriously need another method of amendment. In New Hampshire also there seemed to be dislike for the temporary poll tax of \$5, but Governor A. O. Brown considers it the most salutary of taxes. Governor Fred H. Brown, also of New Hampshire, recommends the income tax or a low rate on intangibles, and a higher inheritance tax. He opposes the poll tax on women as unfair. Silzer of New Jersey says all are agreed that the present system of taxation is antiquated, but does not present specific recommendations.

Hinkle of New Mexico makes a plea for a simplified tax law. He would empower the tax commission to assess (or equalize assessments on) tangible property so far as practicable, or to permit county commissioners to assess agricultural land and to fix all other property values. He thinks the salaries of the assessor and the collector should be determined upon a semi-commission basis, payable on the collection of taxes. Smith of New York would raise the income tax exemption to \$5,000. Nestos of North Dakota would tax the stock of state banks, moneys and credits, and luxuries. He thinks the recent limitation of levies works a great hardship upon many political subdivisions, and suggests reducing the percentage basis of assessment from 100 per cent to 50 per cent as a remedy.

Donahey of Ohio presents a dark picture—the “taxation system in a deplorable condition;” and “approximately 50 per cent of all direct taxes received is required to pay interest and retire the bonds.” He interprets the popular defeat of the taxation amendment last November as a direct mandate to enforce the uniform rule of taxation, and to reach intangible property. An increase in the inheritance tax is suggested and the ultimate removal of all direct state levies, the repeal of all tax rate and debt limitations, local popular votes on bond issues, and a tax bill that shows the taxpayer the amount of all the levies applicable to each district.

In Oklahoma, Governor Walton reports that the oil and gas industry through the gross production tax is paying all the expenses of state government. In Oregon, the reduction and redistribution of the burden of state taxes is considered the paramount question, and Governor Pierce recommends the income tax to be administered by the state tax commissioner who should also be given the power to supervise county assessments. In South Carolina also the elimination of the direct tax levy for state purposes is approved in both messages.

Incomes, inheritances, hydro-electric power, luxuries, corporations and sales are mentioned as suitable objects for state taxation. Several of these objects were taxed last year.

Tennessee faces an obligation of over \$5,000,000 before anything can fairly be appropriated for the ordinary expenses of the state government. It seems that back taxes have been collected through an expensive fee system, by appointees of the comptroller, and the substitution of salaried agents is proposed by Governor Peay. Relief from suits for delinquent revenue is suggested at the same time that the state is said to be losing hundreds of thousands through failure to collect inheritance taxes. The land tax must be reduced and the state find other sources of revenue than real estate. A corporation franchise tax, an income tax, a lower rate for intangibles are recommended, along with the repeal of the sliding scale act of 1919 designed to lower rates as assessments were raised to actual values.

Neff says Texas has no tax laws worthy of consideration. He decries the unequal assessment rates in the different counties, and the absence of an effective collecting system. He would not levy an *ad valorem* tax for state purposes, and proposes an income tax, a tax on natural resources, a franchise tax, occupation tax, and a tax on corporate privileges. One of his expressions is, "This oil is worth, except when the legislature is in session, about \$1.50 a barrel." Proctor of Vermont notes some complaint of inequality of assessment in different localities and expresses the opinion that a state board of equalization is needed. He thinks if the state direct taxes are limited to the mill school and half-mill highway tax, the matter will continue of little importance. He thinks the federal income tax quite precludes the states from the use of the same system, which if used at all should be in lieu of some present taxes.

Hart of Washington strongly favors the inheritance tax and a tax on the gross earnings of auto busses and auto trucks used as public utilities. Morgan of West Virginia reports that the gross sales tax produced two and one-half millions in the first year and a quarter of operation, and proposes an increase of rates. He thinks one reason for the concealment of intangibles in many states, as in West Virginia, has been the assessment of tangible property far below its value, and believes that under limited levies and full assessment of tangible property a classification of property will hardly be necessary.

Governor Blaine of Wisconsin called a special session of the legislature in 1922 to provide for the publicity of income tax returns, and

delivered an earnest message on the subject. He quoted from an address of Benjamin Harrison in 1898. "The plea of business privacy has been driven too hard. If for mere statistical purposes we may ask the head of the family whether there are any idiots in his household and enforce an answer by court process, we may surely, for revenue purposes, require a detailed account of his securities. One of the conditions of the security of wealth is a proportionate and free contribution to the expenses of the state and local government." He stated that in 1870, the last year of publicity for the civil war national income tax, 94,887 returns showed incomes of \$2,000, and in 1871 when publicity was prohibited the number fell to 72,000, while in North Carolina, when the state income tax returns were published, the collections more than doubled. In the regular message he states that if real and personal property in the state yielded a net annual income of 6 per cent, the amount would be \$270,000,000, out of which in 1920, a \$97,000,000 tax was paid, while the taxable net incomes of \$368,000,000 in 1919 paid a tax of only \$6,243,000 in 1920. He would ultimately repeal the personal property tax and would exempt from taxation all homes of small value.

Governor Ross of Wyoming would amend the constitution which now prohibits the taxing of mines; he would devise some method of requiring the owners of intangibles to report them, and would increase the inheritance tax rate and organization fees for corporations. No fewer than sixteen governors recommend a tax on gasoline or an increase in such a tax. In at least six states "severance" taxes are proposed. In about ten states the governors point out that the state's share of the total tax burden is relatively slight, Hyde of Missouri estimating it at 6 per cent of the total, exclusive, it seems, of federal taxes.

Administrative Reorganization. Several governors presented extensive programs of administrative reorganization. McKelvie, retiring in Nebraska, staunchly defended the reorganization accomplished in 1919. He demanded that anyone in authority who would amend or repeal the "Code" should be specific in stating just how this was to be done. He denied that the code had created new governmental activities, or increased the number of employees, or increased taxes, or deprived any of the constitutional elective officers of their authority. He suggested that if the legislature should place the functions of the code secretaries under the constitutional officers, as the constitution permits it to do, then an amendment should be submitted to enable

the governor to appoint these officers, except a financial officer. Mr. Bryan had promised to restore the government to the people. He asserted that the centralization brought about by the code was fraught with danger to the welfare of the people. He wishes the constitutional officers, lieutenant governor and attorney general excepted, authorized to sit as a board at least once a week, to stand as the people's representatives between them and the organized business groups which are to be affected by the laws to be administered. He would repeal the code, and create an "Executive Council" with power to determine the state's administrative policies. He insisted that under the code system the state officers, other than the governor, had been shorn of all but mere clerical authority, that the governor found it physically impossible to decide important policies coming up from the code secretaries, who had no direct responsibility to the taxpayers. Nevertheless, to avoid shifting responsibility, he would have all departmental heads and employees appointed and removed directly by the governor. "When the regular state officers again assume the responsibility of recommending to the legislature the needed appropriations for the various state activities, the duplications, fads, theories, and isms, calling for an endless number of employees and ever increasing and unnecessary expenditures of the people's money, will cease. The first step in restoring the government to a business basis is to repeal the code law." He has had introduced 45 bills to accomplish this restoration. Incidentally nothing is said regarding the executive budget which is established by the constitution.

Governor Peay of Tennessee places reorganization of the administrative system among the first of his pledges to be redeemed. He states that the government is functioning through 64 organizations—37 boards and 27 departments. "The fact is we now have an assortment of petty governments." A bill was accordingly drawn assembling related activities into 8 departments. Governor Sweet of Colorado secured the services of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research for a survey of state administration and promises to present its recommendations in a special message. "Only a new code, based upon modern efficiency principles can accomplish the desired result." Governor Smith of New York placed at the head of his specific recommendations the constitutional amendments reorganizing the present ramshackle government. These call for the election of only governor, lieutenant governor, and comptroller, for four year terms, the last an independent auditor without administrative functions; the reduction of state departments to 19; the consolidation of the administration and

inspection of institutions; and an executive budget system. In a special message he explains how a considerable degree of consolidation can be secured by statute.

A reorganization commission was authorized by the last legislature in Pennsylvania. In referring to its study, Mr. Sproul displayed no enthusiasm, saying "too much should not be expected at once. The government of Pennsylvania is very well framed under the limitations of the constitution. It functions as well, if not better, than any state government in the nation. We get along with less direct taxation than any other important state, and no state has excelled us in constructive service to our people. The personnel is splendid, better than in many extensive business establishments. Of course, the people here are not all A.M.'s or Ph.D's." Governor Pinchot, however, says, "The people of Pennsylvania have declared for a new order in the government of their commonwealth. . . . Much of the machinery has become antiquated, ineffective, and wasteful of the people's money. . . . People have tolerated in their public servants standards of conduct known to be indefensible, and under which no private business could survive." He stated that an outline of reorganization by departments was in preparation.

Hardwick of Georgia repeated his statement of 1921, that "we are board-ridden, commission-ridden, and trustee-ridden in this state." Governor Dorsey in 1919 had reported that the university system alone had 277 trustees, and recommended an independent or ex-officio board of three or five. The governor employed Griffenhagen and Associates to make a survey of the departments and institutions of the state and especially the fiscal machinery. He requested the attention of the legislature to their reports, and thought it might be wise to have a full and comprehensive survey. Governor Harvey of South Carolina urged this consideration of reorganization "while the public pulse is normal . . . without the acrimony of a political campaign." He supported the principle of grouping related activities, and advised the holding of a conference in order to ventilate the phases of the subject, which could well be the forerunner of a constitutional convention. The new governor (McLeod) intends to present his views after a greater degree of personal contact with conditions.

Governor Dixon of Montana repeated his recommendation of 1921, for the "concentration of authority and responsibility in public affairs in exactly the same way you would in your private affairs." He specified a few beneficial consolidations or eliminations, and proposed that

the governor be invested with discretionary power to limit publications to the actual needs of the various departments. Governor Morgan of West Virginia asked the legislature to authorize him to appoint a commission to investigate without pay the administrative organization of the state; while Proctor of Vermont quoted approvingly a statement of former Governor Lowden of Illinois on consolidation of the agencies of government, and asked the legislature "to take seriously in hand the task of simplifying the machinery of our government." Specific suggestions were offered. In Oregon, the opposition of those specially interested was pointed out as the reason for the failure of bona fide efforts of the legislature to effect consolidations. "These interests must give way. By enactment of such a law hordes of state agents and inspectors and special deputies who are traveling over the state, will be disposed of."

Governor Hunt of Arizona made a plea for actual executive power over the administrative system, commensurate with the degree to which the people wished to hold him responsible. McMaster of South Dakota calls attention to the efficiency survey made by authorization of the legislature of 1921, which he thinks presents a workable plan, and regards it as the solemn duty of the legislature to take concrete action. He declined to make any recommendation regarding the constitutional changes proposed. The new governor in California (Richardson) is positive: "Two years ago the state combined certain offices and departments, and the result has shown that it is difficult to find supermen to head these departments, that not a single office has been eliminated and that the cost of these departments has increased. Primarily the people must depend upon the men in government, rather than upon the form of government." Hart of Washington is equally positive on the other side of the question, and credits the civil administrative code with changing a million dollar deficit into a million dollar balance in twenty-one months.

Governor Kendall drew a graphic picture of the lack of system at present in Iowa, and enjoined a thorough reform of the departmental organization now existing, proposing that the functions of the board of agriculture include those of ten other offices or boards, those of the board of health eight others, those of the state library five others. Governor Hyde of Missouri refused to consider that the vote on the referred bills which would have consolidated state departments was really a referendum on the merits of the bills, and earnestly recommended that under some name and in some acceptable form they be made the law

in Missouri now. The governor of Rhode Island (Flynn), condemning the law that allows the senate to name administrative heads after laying the governor's recommendations on the table for three days,—“Thus the senate, controlled by representatives of the few, may thwart the will of the majority as expressed in their vote for governor,”—asked that real appointing power be restored to the governor.

Governor Davis of Kansas believes considerable saving can be effected “in returning to counties and local municipalities, and the local peace officers such as constables, county health officers, and sheriffs, the duties of inspection and the prevention of law violation,” as in part in the case of the hotel commissioner and state fire marshal. More or less extensive consolidations and reorganizations are suggested in North Dakota, Delaware, Utah, Arkansas, Wyoming, and perhaps a few other states. Morrison of North Carolina, in asking the creation of departments of commerce and industry, of banking and of water transportation, is almost alone in proposing any elaboration of the administrative system.

Highways. Highways are very much in the public eye, it seems. Governor Peay of Tennessee is opposed to federal aid in state activities, but thinks an exception can be taken in road building. He is positive that a system of permanent good roads will never be secured until the state builds and maintains them without county aid. He would discourage all bonds, and especially a proposal to issue \$75,000,000 worth for a ten year period. Governor Harvey thinks a bond issue of \$50,000,000 could be financed in South Carolina without any burden on the tax payers. Morrison of North Carolina urges the issue of additional road bonds to the amount of \$15,000,000 to run for forty years. A. O. Brown of New Hampshire would have the highways maintained, improved, and even in the last analysis paid for, by the traffic they bear. He is the only governor to mention the disfigurement of highways by advertising signs, and concludes that the defect in the law which permits this abuse could be easily remedied. Governor Fred H. Brown of New Hampshire laments the effect that the expense to towns in aiding to maintain state roads has in the care of county roads and consequently on out-of-the-way farms. Governor Mabey of Utah desires a well-organized road patrol to keep vehicles of excessive load and insufficient tire surface off the roads, as well as a central drafting and enforcement of safety traffic rules. Governor Dixon of Montana notes that 3 per cent of the annual state automobile bill of \$36,000,000—one third more than the taxes for school, county, city, and state

government combined—would build many miles of road each year. McKelvie of Nebraska would separate the state and federal road system in building and maintenance from all others. Morgan of West Virginia would add a bond issue of \$20,000,000 to that of \$15,000,000 authorized in 1921.

The governor of Alabama (Brandon) complains that too many surveys are made and too few roads built, and that the members of the highway commission represent their own sections; he would reduce the commission to three or five members, define their duties, and require the commission to employ a highway engineer, and would allow no expenditures to be made without the approval of the commission and the governor. Governor Richardson of California asserts that millions have been squandered on roads which have proved a failure. The engineering department has shown itself incapable of learning, even through the experience of its blunders. Governor Pierce is concerned over the fact that Oregon, the thirty-sixth state in wealth and population, has issued one-tenth of all the highway bonds in the United States. He proposes a small full-time highway commission under the direction of the governor, instead of an unpaid commission. Governor Small of Illinois believes the motor fees would retire a bond issue of \$100,000,000 by 1948, and leave several millions annually for maintenance. Governor Moore of Idaho opposes all new construction unless the need is imperative.

Governor Templeton of Connecticut notes the depletion of the passenger, freight, and express revenues of the steam and electric railways, due to the ever-increasing use of motor vehicles. He believes the state should not spend the people's money for roads for the benefit of any freight and express system unless reimbursed for the outlay. He thinks a diversion of some of the motor traffic to the railways, if possible, would simplify the problem of highway improvements, and possibly result in more efficient service. He recommends regulation of the tonnage and dimensions of trucks. Governor Proctor of Vermont suggests care in selecting road surface adapted to use and location, to the limited income and dispersed population of the state. He advises an appropriation to alleviate the dust nuisance, and for more patrol work in maintaining gravel roads.

Bryan of Nebraska asks the legislature to consider the matter of national aid carefully and if deemed wise to memorialize Congress to discontinue it. He would cut the automobile license fee in two and give the proceeds to the counties for roads. Governor Sweet thinks the

principle of federal aid open to question if it engenders extravagance, or if conditions imposed by the national government are unreasonable. Smith of New York is also opposed to bond issues for road making, as is McRae of Arkansas. The former favors granting greater latitude to the commissioner of highways in laying out proposed roads, in order to secure the best interests of all the people rather than those of a favored locality.

Governor Davis of Kansas opposes any attempt to promote hard surfaced roads, and would turn the money in the county treasuries, collected for a state aid fund, back to the counties for county roads. He would restore full power to the counties over the roads both as to kind of surface and method of payment, except that the bonds be issued only after popular approval.

Blaine of Wisconsin recommends a change from a flat license fee for automobiles to a graduated license fee, based on weight and cylinder displacement; he also would restrict the use of the roads by heavy trucks and busses. Much the same recommendation comes from Indiana, Vermont, and Colorado. Donahey of Ohio would abolish the state registration bureau and transfer the work to the penitentiary, to be done practically without cost, the tags being distributed through the county treasurer's office between the semi-annual tax collections. Smith of New York in a special message reasons that the treatment of the automobile from the standpoint alone of a source of revenue is wrong, and thinks licensing should be regarded as a police function, to be cared for in cities by police departments and elsewhere by sheriffs. He advises also a central bureau of records and information at Albany, to which reports of local officers and of casualty companies should be sent. Every operator should be licensed. Half of the license fees should go into the general fund of the state and half to the local authorities for the purpose of regulation. The state should know the record of every operator.

Silzer of New Jersey finds the waste of road funds, and corruption, the greatest abuses resulting from closed specifications which only certain "patent" pavements can meet. He would require open specifications, the placing of full responsibility upon the state highway commission, including power to fix routes and conduct investigations. Sproul takes pride in the absence of even a whisper of scandal in connection with the immense expenditures in Pennsylvania. Neff of Texas calls for a state system of highways centralized and standardized. "As a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so a road is no better

than its deepest mudhole." "We have scarcely as much as 100 miles of completed road in a single continuous stretch." Groesbeck of Michigan is convinced that the divided responsibility between the state and local authorities as to construction and maintenance will soon embarrass the state unless limitations of expenditures are prescribed.

Finance. A series of recommendations may perhaps be most properly grouped under the heading of finance. Governor Hardwick of Georgia strongly advocates an up-to-date auditing system. He condemns the lack of planning, in the past, of departments and institutional heads, and the poor appropriating methods. He advises the creation of the office of state auditor and accountant. Its duties would be to enforce the intent of the general assembly in appropriations by a pre-audit system; secure estimates from executive officers, to be revised by the governor; and audit collections. He disapproves the practice of continuing appropriations and, with some apparent inconsistency, expresses a belief that an executive budget commission could never be practicable. He advises itemized appropriations, and gubernatorial control of transfers. It may be of interest to know that Georgia owns the Western and Atlantic railroad, the rentals of which for four years it discounted in 1921 for \$2,297,000.

Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania admits that appropriations of \$118,000,000 in 1921 (\$24,000,000 having been cut from the legislative figures) were somewhat too high, but explains that the liability at the end of the fiscal period, would not be proportionally greater than for former periods. But Mr. Pinchot finds a deficit of \$29,000,000, and proposes to cut the present appropriation on an average $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He suggests mainly lump sum appropriations, since minute limitations fail entirely to make bad men good but prevent good men from doing good work. He promises not only a detailed report of expenditures but a monthly statement open to any citizen or member of the legislature.

Flynn of Rhode Island urges the establishment of a comprehensive fiscal plan, which would give the governor a real part in financial administration. He now has no control over administrative heads, and no authority to supervise the preparation of estimates. Governor Cox of Massachusetts thinks a reduction of \$11,000,000 in the state debt in two years, along with a liberal program of current expenditures and a \$5,000,000 treasury balance, amply justify the adoption of an executive budget and a pay-as-you-go policy. Davis of Kansas recommends an executive budget by statute or amendment, the legislature being permitted only to lower the governor's estimates and provision

being made for the participation of the governor-elect. Scrugham of Nevada desires the constitutional power to veto or reduce specific items in appropriation bills, as does Flynn. Harvey of South Carolina credits the budget system with eliminating the staggering deficits common prior to its establishment. McLeod of the same state maintains that to provide from year in to year out annual appropriations for state buildings would be burdensome and well nigh impossible, and recommends bond issues,—“the interest and sinking fund taken care of by levy, and without hardship upon the taxpayers these improvements are made possible.” Governor Kendall of Iowa desires a thorough-going budget system. He asserts that the present budget required to be submitted by the chief executive, was compiled without any control or supervision by him. He has in mind a budget board, wholly disconnected from the legislature or any department, thoroughly familiar with the available revenues of the state, which would submit to the governor a state budget, which would be transmitted to the general assembly. The same system should be instituted in all the subdivisions of the state. Utah’s governor (Mabey) gives great credit to the new department of finance and purchase for keeping the spending agencies within their estimates for the first time in many years, but thinks the constitutional officers should not come under its supervision. Morgan of West Virginia, in answering the objection that the result is now reached by a process of log-rolling among the members of the board, notes that preparation of the budget by the board of public works is a marked improvement over preparation by the finance committees of the legislature which produced the regular complaint of intentional delay from the minority.

Governor Brandon of Alabama thinks the law should require all those in charge of public funds to publish detailed accounts at stated intervals, the accounts of local offices to be published in the county paper or other medium of publicity, and including publication of the examiner’s report concerning any county official. Governor Hunt of Arizona frowns on the policy of financing government expenditures by issuing tax anticipation bonds, a system which he thinks comes from the old world—from bankrupt countries that are mortgaging the future in order to live in the present. Instead, he would stick to the policy of the past and issue state warrants since the interest then does not leave the state.

McRae of Arkansas desires a workable executive budget law, and a central agency for purchasing supplies and selling the major products

of the state institutions. Baxter of Maine says, "The requests for appropriations filed with the budget committee before the session opened total \$23,000,000. This does not include the several million dollars that inevitably will be asked for after the legislature gets well under way." He wisely opposes the use by departments of funds received by them, as against the system of definite appropriations for all departments and the payment of all receipts into the general fund.

Hyde of Missouri would make all warrants read "to order" instead of "to bearer" so as to require an endorsement; he would centralize the state purchases for some 10,000 persons, and adopt an efficient budget system, apparently to be administered by a sort of non-partisan commission. Not all would agree with his statement: "Such a non-partisan board, armed with such power, would be a budget commission de luxe." Templeton of Connecticut advises a central purchasing agency to serve under the direction of the board of control. Proctor of Vermont recommends a change to the executive budget, and the creation of a director of finance, and also the audit of revenue or income. He opposes the system of "pledged revenues"—that is, certain receipts to certain departments,—and the practice of continuing appropriations.

The governor of West Virginia (Morgan) desires suitable legislation for the handling of bond issues and the proper management of sinking funds. Governor Blaine of Wisconsin advocates the creation of some agency for the efficient investment of trust funds, perhaps through extending temporary credit where needed. Morrison of North Carolina recommends limiting the state's power to incur indebtedness to 5 per cent of the assessed valuation, and prohibiting the devotion of sinking funds to other purposes.

The prevalence of pleas for economy, and requests for veto power over appropriation items, and proposals of state tax and debt limitations, seem to indicate that the budget systems as yet adopted do not generally give the governor anything approaching a commanding position in the field of state finance.

Law Enforcement. Probably President Harding's conference with governors with reference to prohibition enforcement is partly responsible for the attention devoted to this subject in the messages. One after another pictures the effect of the disregard of law on the stability of society, asserts that the infraction of any law impairs the force of all law, admonishes high and low alike to obey the law, or denounces the weakness, indifference, and criminality of officers of the law themselves.

Pinchot regards the flagrant failure to enforce the Volstead act as

a blot on the good name of Pennsylvania and the United States, and believes that no determined effort to enforce the law has yet been made. "The breakdown of law enforcement is proof enough, if other proofs are lacking, that Pennsylvania needs a new birth of political righteousness." Neff of Texas would require an oath from every officer that he has not knowingly during the past year violated the liquor laws of Texas or the United States, and will not do so during his term of office. McKelvie of Nebraska insists on the necessity of both state and local enforcement of prohibition. Sproul of Pennsylvania, Silzer of New Jersey, and Smith of New York are lukewarm or hostile toward the present prohibition laws. The first says the law is becoming more and more a matter of bitter political disagreement, and while confessing the only way in sight is a conscientious enforcement, declares that until the sentiment of the people earnestly supports the law, the general effect will be more harmful than beneficial. The second interprets the election as a choice of temperance rather than prohibition, suggests a legislative resolution in favor of modifying the Volstead law, and the necessary steps to call a national constitutional convention to alter the Eighteenth Amendment. Smith makes practically the same proposals.

From Texas it is reported that 4,000 convicted criminals escaped punishment during the past four years. "Almost everything has risen in value in Texas except human life. It is our cheapest commodity. We averaged last year more than three homicides a day." For this general condition various procedural remedies are proposed. Governor Neff recommends prosecution by information, the amendment of indictments as to formalities, the inference of guilt from refusal to testify, joint trial of those jointly indicted, prohibition of reversals on technical errors, regulation of paroles, and repeal of the suspended sentence law. Bryan of Nebraska likewise asks the repeal of the indeterminate sentence law of that state.

Peay of Tennessee would reduce the defendant's challenges in capital cases, and would have indictments for murder stand continuously for trial in the order entered on the dockets and disposed of to the exclusion of other cases. Richardson of California favors a pardon and parole board, an indeterminate sentence law, and parole officers. The governor of South Carolina concedes that by the process of appeals the date of punishment in criminal cases can be practically deferred indefinitely, and accuses local magistrates of delaying the issue of warrants to state constables until liquor offenders could dispose of their stock. He advocates a pardon authority not subject to

politics or political influence, to recommend action to the governor, and believes gross incongruities in punishments for the same crimes are responsible for many appeals for clemency. McCray of Indiana also laments the effect of improper sentences. Hunt of Arizona would allow every incoming executive to appoint a pardon board in sympathy with the policy of the administration. Mabey of Utah objects to the ease and speed and one-sided consideration with which pardons are granted. Kendall of Iowa advocates the reduction from six months to thirty days of the period of appeal, and the removal of the rule estopping the inference of guilt from refusal to testify.

Morgan commends the various organizations which have waged a campaign to present the truth concerning the industrial, economic, and social life of West Virginia, and reports the restoration of the rule of law in the state. He again recommends legislation to prohibit the payment of deputy sheriffs out of private funds, as well as more stringent regulations on fire-arms. The latter regulation is favored by McRae of Arkansas and several others, the preceding one by Hunt of Arizona, who desires a law to curb the usurpation of governmental functions by private persons and organizations.

Sweet of Colorado would abolish the rangers of that state, holding their use wrong because depriving the people of the right of local self-government. Moore of Idaho would repeal the constabulary law and provide a fund for the executive to use in emergencies. Donahy of Ohio and Pierce of Oregon also oppose a constabulary, although the former is not against a rural police left to local control, and the latter desires an adequate force of police agents. Denney of Delaware, on the other hand, would increase the highway police and extend its functions to assisting in the enforcement of all state laws. A. O. Brown of New Hampshire likewise would enable the governor to commission any of the general or special law enforcement officers, apparently favoring some form of special rural protection. Brandon of Alabama believes that while law should be enforced locally, it should be left to the executive to determine the force necessary for the state to maintain in order to assure proper cooperation with local authorities. Hyde of Missouri, concluding a five page discussion of violation of law, thinks the best machinery for law enforcement by state authority yet devised is a state police force, which should be under non-political control. Ross of Wyoming believes the power of the governor to remove delinquent local officers essential to law enforcement. McMaster of South Dakota would have any order of removal disqualify

an officer from holding a civil office or acting as a deputy for at least two years. Neff of Texas denies that there is any such thing as local self-government in regard to violations of the law and would authorize the attorney general to instigate ouster proceedings against local officials outside the county of their residence. Bryan of Nebraska wishes the governor to be empowered to suspend local officers against whom such ouster proceedings have been instituted, and to appoint temporary successors.

Local Government. A number of recommendations may most conveniently be classed under the subject of local government. Smith suggests constitutional home rule for New York cities, and Flynn of Rhode Island would insure the widest sphere of self-government in all matters of local administration, including education. Fred H. Brown of New Hampshire advocates the immediate restoration to the cities of the control of local affairs now vested in state-appointed commissions. Kendall of Iowa desires the prohibition, with suitable penalties, of the contraction by local public agencies of obligations in excess of amounts previously and properly authorized. One of the Iowa counties has been obligated to the amount of a million dollars, not a penny of which was sanctioned by the electors of the county. He would also extend the power of the auditor to examine accounts to all offices and boards spending money from the public treasury. In Des Moines recently the state examiners discovered the misappropriation of \$75,000. McRae of Arkansas would make it a crime for a county or city to overdraw its current income. Harvey of South Carolina would abolish the fee system, as would Hyde of Missouri. Mabey of Utah recommends periodic state inspection of the records of counties, cities of the first and second class, and school districts; a constitutional tax limit on all levying authorities (the state being thus restricted now), and the compulsion of proper annual sinking fund appropriations to take care of bonded indebtedness.

Davis of Kansas would also place limits on local taxation, to be overcome by a taxpayers' vote, and on bond issues, all issues to be submitted to popular vote, and to be constitutionally forbidden when the tax rate should reach 3 per cent, except for the acquisition of self-supporting utilities. Dixon of Montana again would permit by constitutional amendment the consolidation of city and county governments and the adoption of commission government by counties. Morgan notes the successful operation of the state sinking fund commission in administering the interest and sinking funds for the bond issues of the school

districts and municipalities of the state. He proposes constitutional limitation of local tax rates. Robertson of Oklahoma thinks the governor should be enabled to order an audit of the books of any local governmental unit or office at any time, instead of being compelled to await the provision for payment therefor by the county excise board. Hinkle of New Mexico would create the office of comptroller to exercise similar powers. He also favors tax limit laws. Bryan of Nebraska wishes all municipalities empowered to organize and operate public utilities, including ice-plants, slaughter houses, and public markets; optional consolidation of county offices (also Hyde's suggestion), and power to establish a new form of county government,—apparently legislative home rule. He recommends a single common rule for bond issues. Silzer of New Jersey also favors limits on annual local appropriations, and on indebtedness. Moore of Idaho would reduce existing limits. Edwards of New Jersey hints at the possible necessity of the state's assuming the management of all water supplies in the state in order to prevent waste. Hart of Washington would have a budget law which would keep proper check on the expenditures of counties, cities, and other spending agencies. Pierce of Oregon recommends state supervision and control of the financial affairs of the various taxing districts. He finds the state involved to a considerable sum by an amendment which gave the state the right to guarantee interest on bonds issued by irrigation and drainage districts. Cox of Massachusetts would extend to the mayor of every city the absolute veto over loans conferred on the Boston mayor in 1909, and would extend generally the right to a referendum on loans and special expenditures. He wishes some means of investigating the finances of any city not provided with a permanent finance commission. Blaine of Wisconsin disapproves the practice of creating local offices and bodies without preserving to the people the right of self-government, while Davis of Kansas favors a reduction in the number of county officers.

Primary and Elections. Apparently the primary is generally restored to favor. Sweet of Colorado, admitting that its operation is expensive and unduly prolongs political campaigns, asserts that the direct primary has remedied more evils than it has caused. Smith of New York recommends the full restoration of the direct primary, bipartisan election boards in those counties which now have single commissioners, and the filing of expense statements by all candidates before election. Kendall of Iowa is unalterably opposed to the impairment of the primary law, but thinks announcement of a change of party

affiliation should be required six months before the primary. Richardson of California manifests considerable feeling against the political machine which had "dominated the state government," and he considers the value of the direct primary demonstrated in the defeat of the machine politicians. Baxter of Maine believes the opposition of both party platforms to the primary does not represent popular opinion, and opposes the repeal of the primary or its submission to the voters. Hinkle of New Mexico wants a state-wide primary and an effective corrupt practices act. On the other hand, Morgan of West Virginia mentions the recent primary as a "luxurious contest," and thinks the convention system would be simpler, less expensive, and would secure the nomination of better qualified candidates. Moore of Idaho would also retain the present use of the state convention, and modify the local primary to preserve party integrity.

There are numerous proposals, however, to modify or change the existing primary and election systems. Hunt of Arizona, in order to deter members of the minority party from voting in the majority party primary, would provide that any primary candidate receiving a majority of all votes cast at the primary should be declared elected. Davis of Kansas, on the other hand, favors the open primary (if not, indeed, the privilege of voting for different offices in more than one party), elimination from the ballot of the names of sole candidates for a nomination, and a primary publicity pamphlet. Donahey of Ohio also proposes the open primary, a permanent registration system, and a reduction in the number of election officials and voting precincts. McMaster of South Dakota advises a much later date for proposal meetings and primaries. Bryan of Nebraska would reinforce the primary by a stricter corrupt practices act and remove the party circle from the ballot. Groesbeck of Michigan and Blaine of Wisconsin believe the present corrupt practices acts vitally defective, and the latter favors a means of judicial review of expenditures before election. Flynn of Rhode Island recommends the limitation and publicity of campaign expenditures. Cox of Massachusetts again asserts that the chief objection to the primary would be removed by adopting the short ballot, and Groesbeck evidently holds about the same opinion.

McRae of Arkansas would consolidate state and congressional elections, and Hardwick of Georgia again urges the adoption of a real and rigid Australian ballot. Brandon of Alabama favors a practically continuous registration by probate judges. Scrugham of Nevada would require personal registration, and would extend the provisions of the

absent-voter law to citizens residing in remote precincts, thus eliminating elections therein. McCray of Indiana, on the other hand, says the absent-voter law is subject to most dangerous abuse.

The infrequent references to party platform promises (found in eight messages), and the very slight extent and emphasis in most of these references, leads one to believe that platforms are not viewed with great seriousness, the personal pledges of the gubernatorial candidates carrying more weight, although in Nebraska the party groups are holding together quite effectively or disastrously as one wishes to view it.

Agricultural Relief. Various schemes for coöperative marketing and for credits are suggested to relieve the distress of farmers and stock raisers. Rather seldom is there more than a general statement of a remedy, perhaps accompanying a comment on the price spread between original producer and consumer. Sweet of Colorado presents storage as the fundamental need, and if private capital fails to provide it, would have the state build and purchase warehouses and lease them to associations. Kendall of Iowa, contrasting the 32 per cent of the consumer's price which a Mississippi valley producer gets with the 92 per cent which the Danish producer gets, proposes the South Dakota credit system. Dixon of Montana reports that 45.4 per cent of the farm loans from the permanent school fund are delinquent in interest for from one to five years, and proposes a method of restoring foreclosed lands to the owner. Nestos of North Dakota states that many purchasers of school lands and borrowers of state money on farm lands are sadly in arrears, in about 400 instances from six to thirteen years. Ross of Wyoming would enlarge the state fund available for such loans.

McRae, Brandon, Blaine, Walton and Hunt approve coöperative marketing. Preus of Minnesota urges rural credits under the amendment so overwhelmingly adopted, and characterizes the results of a short period of coöperative marketing as "startling." He would make some form of warehouse receipt negotiable in the state, and encourage further consumer coöperation. McMaster of South Dakota advises a system of intermediate credits for stock and grain raisers based on stock and grain on hand. Nestos advises the raising of diversified products in order to save on freight rates, and cautions against the view that new coöperative associations can be of use without wise administration. He thinks it is becoming more apparent that farmers' problems must be solved by coöperation rather than state ownership. Hunt of Arizona would build state warehouses; Davis of Kansas would empower counties and townships to build elevators, and would loan state money on

grain and cattle certificates; while Pierce of Oregon says, "I do not want even to think of state owned packing plants and warehouses for distribution of farm products but I do want to warn the business world that the producers must have better treatment and a fair chance for existence." Sweet, Silzer, and Walton would develop state cement plants; while Blaine and Hunt advise the study of the question. McMaster reports the progress of the \$2,000,000 cement plant project in South Dakota, and thinks results justify the existence of the state coal mine. Nestos desires a non-political board to manage the state mill and elevator enterprise and for the bank of North Dakota.

Conservation. Within the field of conservation, irrigation, and water power, perhaps the most important point is the Colorado River pact or treaty entered into by the seven states in the river basin and the United States. The agreement appears as an appendix to Governor Hunt's message. Morrison proposes elaborate cultivation of fish, oyster, and other sea-food industries for which he thinks the North Carolina waters are the finest in the world. He would also create a ship and port commission to acquire terminals and operate a fleet of passenger and freight ships especially in order to free the state from enslavement to Virginia cities which are recognized by the interstate commerce commission as basic rate points. Neff of Texas proposes a plan of conserving flood waters, harnessing rivers, and irrigating arid areas on a large, almost state-wide, scale. Harvey of South Carolina and A. O. Brown of New Hampshire devote each a paragraph to forest conservation; Sproul of Pennsylvania, to stream pollution; Smith of New York, to state development of water power; Baxter of Maine, to water power, water storage (by the state and private interests), forests, wild lands, game, and fish; Bryan of Nebraska, to state development of water power; Stephens of California, to the utilization of the oil resources of state lands; Scrugham of Nevada, to immigration and power development; Ross of Wyoming, to the investment of state funds in drainage district securities; Donahey of Ohio, to reforestation and fisheries. McRae of Arkansas desires a geological survey and topographical maps; Mabey of Utah, a speedy survey of the public domain which if sold would add \$5,000,000 to the school fund; Nestos of North Dakota, the development of the lignite industry and of the Missouri river for irrigation, navigation, and power. State parks are advocated in South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Michigan, Nebraska, Missouri, and Illinois.

Education. Most of the governors mention education, several to praise the system of the state, and others to criticize and urge improvement. Some specific suggestions may be noteworthy. Nestos would permit the schools to close earlier for the purpose of allowing religious instruction by the various denominations. Blaine would place less emphasis on professional and technical courses until equal opportunities are given to farm and city children. McMaster deprecates the efforts of the higher institutions to cover all phases of education. Peay thinks higher institutions are robbing the elementary schools. Smith urges more adequate schools in rural communities. Proctor thinks the county school must remain and be improved—the center of local interests and a meeting place for neighborhood activities.

Denney of Delaware commends the recently adopted system of state control and state financing of public education. Harvey of South Carolina makes no apology for recommending \$3,735,000 for education, as compared with \$2,381,000 appropriated by the last legislature. He says "The people who do not pay any taxes stand in greatest need of these institutions, and those who pay the bulk of the taxes can least afford to complain of the costs." Kendall insists upon the immediate removal of the condition disclosed by the last census—20,680 illiterates in Iowa, though the lowest percentage in the country. But he takes pride in Iowa education—"we have compelled more than national attention. Iowa City dispatched eleven unconquered athletes to humble the haughty partisans of Old Eli with the first midwestern touchdown ever inflicted upon that ancient and honorable academy, and a British commission of experts adjudged the medical department not third, but one of three foremost in America!" Dixon of Montana disapproves the unequal distribution of the school funds. McRae of Arkansas presents first of all the discreditable school system of the state and demands more and better schools.

McCray of Indiana urges the county unit plan of management. In Missouri such a plan was defeated on a referendum, but Governor Hyde insists that most districts are too small for economical administration, and that the farmers are paying higher taxes than the townsmen for inferior schools. Donahey of Ohio recommends a single board of trustees to control all state maintained institutions of higher learning instead of the present 72 trustees, and would provide an element of state control of building plans.

Labor. The recommendations on the subject of labor are not usually striking. Blaine of Wisconsin stands for the basic eight hour day, an

increase in the maximum weekly benefits under the compensation law, and a grading of the benefit according to the reasonable needs of those dependent upon it. Davis thinks the trouble with the Kansas industrial court law is that it did not receive the confidence of both employer and employee. "We have had more disturbance of industry since its enactment than during the decade or more before its enactment." He recommends the repeal of the law and the creation of an industrial commission empowered to appoint representatives of employer and employee to investigate and make reports on industrial disputes. He would provide a guaranty fund from which to pay compensation benefits, and furnish state assistance to employer and employee in agreeing upon the amount to be paid. Ross of Wyoming recommends legislation to protect women and children in industry and to protect wage-earners from loss of wages. Scrugham of Nevada commends legislation to promote welfare and improve living conditions. Cox of Massachusetts advocates the determination of a program of construction for a period of five years in advance, to eliminate unemployment and secure improvements at lower cost. He favors old age pensions in principle, and suggests the starting of a fund for the purpose, supported by individual gifts. Flynn of Rhode Island urges the enactment of a 48 hour law for women and children in industrial establishments, and calls attention to the questions of a minimum wage for women and state aid for dependent mothers and the helpless aged. Silzer of New Jersey strongly advocates the regulation of night work for women and a change in the compensation schedules. Sweet of Colorado advocates the enforcement of the minimum wage for women law passed ten years ago, and the compulsory consideration of the principle of the living wage as a basis for the decision of wage disputes by the industrial commission.

Governor Smith opposes the issue of an injunction in any labor dispute without notice and a hearing first to establish the facts, expresses his lack of confidence in compulsion in industrial relations, and advocates a minimum wage and an eight hour day for women and minors. Morgan of West Virginia leans to force,—legislation to prevent the suspension of work in basic industries at least, pending adjudication of disputes. He approves labor unions, believing they can be of best service to themselves and the public when they avoid radicalism and promote harmonious relations between employer and employees. Bryan of Nebraska desires a permanent state tribunal to find the facts in disputes before the stage of strike or lockout is reached. Hyde of Missouri

asks another attempt to pass a compensation law, three proposals from three successive legislatures having been defeated at referendum. Donahey proposes industrial rehabilitation and more effective accident prevention.

Charitable and Penal Institutions. Morrison makes a strong plea for the adequate support of the state institutions of North Carolina, and asks a duplication of the last legislature's issue of \$6,700,000 bonds to enlarge them (educational included). Dixon of Montana proposes the establishment of a tannery at the state prison where at present only one half of the inmates can be kept occupied. Harvey of South Carolina finds conditions at the penitentiary deplorable, and without plan for the improvement of the prisoners. Smith considers the overcrowding in insane hospitals one of New York's most serious problems; he points out the advantage of beginning in the schools a system of special classes to train those of defective mentality; and he condemns the policy of simply locking prisoners behind the doors to serve their terms. Brandon believes that in time the lease system by which state prisoners of Alabama are worked in mines should be abolished, but thinks the state is not yet prepared for such a change. "The convict should be kept busy and his labor should bring some revenue to the state," part of his earnings going to a destitute family if he has any. Baxter of Maine mentions the suggestion that a full-time adequately paid board might be better than volunteer management of the state institutions, and believes public money should be used exclusively for public institutions. Hyde of Missouri shows that the care of the blind, feeble-minded, and epileptic in private families is an economic waste, that the almshouse conditions in many counties are shocking, and suggests that these conditions might be improved by allowing counties to combine their services in this field or by providing a series of state institutions. Scrugham of Nevada proposes a state board of charities and corrections, and the remedying of the present inadequate prison accommodations. Cox points out that of every dollar spent by the state of Massachusetts, 19+ cents go for the mentally afflicted and 11+ cents for public welfare, and raises the question whether the state is attacking its problems at their source. He urges the consolidation under state control of the jails now maintained with varying standards by fourteen counties. Denney of Delaware advises the sterilization of the feeble-minded. Small of Illinois comments on the preparation of the first comprehensive data on the mentality of the criminal and juvenile delinquent in the report of the criminologist's division,

and the application of the recommendations of the Institute for Juvenile Research to the care of 1500 persons without commitment to institutions.

Blue Sky Legislation. Hart of Washington recommends a blue sky law. Groesbeck of Michigan would license annually all brokers, employees, and salesmen of securities companies, and inspect their businesses periodically. He would also regulate all private banks and supervise fire insurance rates. Dixon of Montana and Hunt of Arizona suggest careful study of a bank deposit guaranty law, and the former suggests also a number of more stringent banking regulations. McKelvie of Nebraska explains the policy of the banking bureau in aiding weaker banks to maintain their solvency, and proposes to allow the bureau to take charge of and manage banks found to be in unsafe condition. Some abuses of the bank guaranty law are explained by McMaster of South Dakota. Hyde of Missouri desires the strengthening of the blue sky laws, as does Davis of Kansas, who would forbid any officer, agent, or employee of a bank to sell life insurance, stocks, or bonds, and to furnish the names of depositors to such salesmen.

Public Utilities. Silzer of New Jersey discusses public utility regulation through seven pages. He reviews attempts at regulation and the restrictive action of the courts, and as a remedy proposes to allow the companies to continue to exercise their franchises only if they agree to a reasonable return upon a prudent investment value. He believes the companies should be allowed to earn 6 per cent at a five-cent fare—a proposition which seems to beg the question somewhat,—and greater profits as the fare is reduced. He also calls attention to the report of a special committee to investigate the coal question, in which evidence is presented to show that there is an understanding not only among producers and their sales agents to maintain a uniform high price but also among the members of the different retail coal dealers' associations, indeed, that the main protection offered to such a member is the elimination of open competition. Cox of Massachusetts would have the federal government restrict the number of hands through which coal could pass on its way from the mine to the consumer. Peay of Tennessee would restore to cities the power to contract with utility companies, depriving the state commission of power to permit rates to be increased.

Smith attacks the power of the state transit commission for New York City to fix fares and thereby nullify contracts between municipalities and public utility corporations. He believes all jurisdiction over the construction of rapid transit railroads and over local utility rates

should be given to the local authorities. Cities unwilling to assume the function of rate-making might transfer it to the public service commission. "In a democracy the people want the kind of government that suits the majority and not the kind that squares with some principle that has in all probability outgrown its usefulness." Smith also favors municipal ownership of public utilities. Davis of Kansas would also return to municipalities full control over their local utilities. He asks the legislature to reduce freight and passenger railway rates within the state, and desires a "truth in cement" act.

Governor Small would extend the authority of the Illinois commerce commission over motor bus and motor truck transportation. He urges the legislature to enact a plan of people's ownership and operation of street car lines at five-cent fare, which could be adopted by local city or community vote. He promised to call a special session for this purpose in 1921, he states, and was on the point of doing so when he was indicted, partly, he thinks, as a result of his advocacy of certain measures displeasing to the Chicago traction companies, and partly as a result of his veto of excessive appropriations desired by other powerful interests. Kendall of Iowa discloses the fact that the telephone utility is subject to no legal regulation from any authority whatever.

Social Welfare. Rather strangely, housing and the encouragement of home ownership seem to have been mentioned only in New York and Arizona. Some suggestions touching child welfare were presented in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Delaware, Alabama, and Maine. Recommendation of the acceptance of the provisions of the Sheppard-Towner act was quite general. Brandon of Alabama believes in a county health officer in every county, and Hunt of Arizona would subordinate the county health authorities to the direction of the state superintendent of public health.

Governmental Organization. A number of proposals relating to the major features of governmental organization appear. Constitutional conventions are strongly urged in Texas and Rhode Island notwithstanding the opinion of the supreme court in the latter state that the present constitution does not contemplate that method of revision. Governor Flynn would abolish the remaining property qualification for voting. Harvey of South Carolina also suggests a convention, and one or more constitutional amendments are advocated in at least 18 states. McCray of Indiana, noting that only 17 per cent of the electors voted on the constitutional amendments in September, 1921, would make a majority of the vote cast on each proposition sufficient to approve it.

Hardwick of Georgia urges biennial legislative sessions for the sake of economy and because annual sessions cause too much legislation to the disturbance of business and people. Cox of Massachusetts takes practically the same position, and Harvey of South Carolina a similar one, the latter also recommending a four year term without reëligibility for the governor. McCray suggests that the legislature be convened at the beginning of the second and fourth years of the governor's term. Nestos of North Dakota proposes four year terms for state, county, and district officials, and for state representatives, and eight year terms for state senators, with quadrennial legislative sessions. He would reduce the number of members of the legislature, and elect only one judge of the supreme court and one railroad commissioner at a time. Morgan of West Virginia holds that practical results have not justified the "split" session, many of the most important bills being introduced during the first period only in skeleton form and expenses being increased. He thinks the legislature might better convene in March.

Smith of New York favors the state constitutional initiative, and the submission of proposed federal amendments to popular vote. Bryan of Nebraska would have a popular referendum on the declaration of war. Blaine of Wisconsin favors the state initiative, referendum, and recall. Noting that the power of the governor to remove administrative commissions is limited to removal for cause, he also suggests a law to permit the legislature to interrogate such commissions and remove them. Davis of Kansas favors the initiative and referendum and asks for legislation to enable the recall to be used.

Denney of Delaware advocates increased representation for Wilmington, showing that now the city has one-sixth of the representatives and two-fifteenths of the senators, although containing almost as many people and as much wealth as the rest of the state. Flynn of Rhode Island pleads for fair representation in the senate, where 9 per cent of the voting population may now control.

Baxter (Maine), Donahey (Ohio), and Richardson (California) refer to the activity of the lobby, the last declaring that state employees spent weeks in Sacramento at state expense and that political bosses drawing state salaries shocked the people by their brazen action. Richardson also insists that political assessments were collected from civil service employees in the last primary, and he would improve the administration of the merit system. Groesbeck of Michigan recommends the adoption of a civil service law; but Sweet of Colorado, a friend of

the law, pronounces it as now administered a farce, infinitely worse than the old spoils system, being used to construct a bi-partisan political machine and responsible for much inefficiency. Davis of Kansas would have restored the bi-partisan character of boards and commissions to be appointed by the governor.

Censorship. Smith comes out vigorously for freedom of opinion and of education, and opposes motion picture censorship. "We have abundant law in this state to jail the man who outrages public decency." He also denounces the Lusk laws prescribing a loyalty test for teachers and the licensing of private schools. Hunt of Arizona would suppress the spy system in industry and regulate private detective agencies. He also requests the restoration of free speech—"oratory cannot injure the government of our country,"—and would allow political gatherings in public buildings. Blaine of Wisconsin also devotes a paragraph to tolerance and liberty—"as a result of war hysteria, there developed during the war a condition whereby this nation was proposed to be turned into a deaf and dumb asylum."

State Functions. McKelvie of Nebraska pictures the result of the interminable effort to remedy economic and social ills through political action as "fruitful, principally, of more laws, poorer laws, poorer law enforcement, less respect for law, more state paternalism, less individual effort, increased taxes, more politics, more politicians, fewer statesmen, greater dependence upon the state, and increasing discontent among the people." Dixon of Montana is more optimistic; and Governor Sproul, reviewing 26 years of public service, thinks the "outstanding feature of it all is the marvelous development of the state from a mere vehicle for the transfer of powers and privileges from the people through the legislature to the municipal subdivisions and corporate agencies, into a creative, constructive, and protective organization for the equalization of opportunity and the general welfare of all of its citizens."

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The New York State Literacy Test. There has been of late years a growing demand for constitutional provisions and legislative enactments that will provide for a more intelligent ballot. Although isolated attempts to solve this problem appear before 1890, it was not until that date that the commonwealths of the United States made any progress in literacy tests for voting. Twenty states now have some form of literacy test, provided for by their constitution or by

legislative enactment, or have left the legislature free to act if that body so chooses.

Connecticut passed the first reading test in 1855 and Massachusetts the first reading and writing test in 1856. Colorado followed in 1876, the constitution of that year providing that the legislature should establish by law an educational test as a qualification for voting, which was not to go into effect until 1890 and would not disqualify any then qualified voters. The provision was of no importance for the legislature of that state has never acted under the power granted.

The educational qualification was not important until 1890 when four states inserted provisions in their new constitutions, the real purpose being to limit the negro vote. The following states now have as a part of their constitution or by law some provision for a literacy or educational test: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Wyoming, and Washington.

The provisions differ in detail in each state but certain groups have general principles in common. The following states provide that persons shall be qualified to vote if they can read or write any article of the state constitution: Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and South Carolina; while the states of California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Wyoming provide for voting if the voter can read the constitution and write his own name. Arizona grants the suffrage to those who can read the constitution in the English language in such a way as to show that they are neither prompted nor reciting from memory. In Texas the voter must explain in the English language how he wishes to vote. Mississippi, Louisiana, and Virginia call for a satisfactory reading or understanding of the constitution and thus maintain the loop-hole through which election boards may exclude negro voters. The state of Washington grants the privilege to those who can read and speak the English language. The constitutions of Idaho and North Dakota grant their legislatures authority to make educational qualifications but no action has been taken under this provision.

At the general election of 1921, an amendment to the New York constitution was passed changing Article II, Section 1, which now states "After January 1, 1922 no person shall become entitled to vote. . . . unless such person is also able, except for physical disability, to read and write English; and suitable laws shall be passed by the Legislature to enforce this provision."

The legislature of 1922 provided two methods to test the literacy of new voters, tests by election boards and the certificate of literacy. For the first method, there were prepared by the secretary of state one hundred extracts of fifty words each from the constitution of the state for reading, and from these fifty words are to be selected ten words to be written. These tests are to be given by election boards on registration day in communities of five thousand or over, and on election day for those under five thousand where personal registration is not required.

New York is original in that it has created through its board of regents a certificate of literacy to be given to voters after an examination has been taken. The committee of the regents decided to set the test at the requirement of the fourth year. This decision is tentative and the difficulty will increase gradually. The whole plan in the regents test is to read and write intelligently. The writing on the regents test is to determine the voter's ability to convey meaning in writing and is a reading-writing examination rather than a reading and writing test.

A sample selection with questions follows: "A vote is the expression of one's will as to men seeking office or bills proposed for the good of the people. A vote may be taken in three ways, by voice, by show of hands, or by slips of paper. In political matters, the ballot is generally used. There is a sheet of paper on which the name of the candidate for office is printed. The voter puts a mark opposite the name of the man he thinks ought to be chosen for office. He must be careful to mark the ballot properly. Ballots not properly marked are not counted."

1. What is the expression of one's will as to men seeking office called?
2. For whose good are bills said to be proposed?
3. In how many ways may a vote be taken?
4. Name one way in which a vote may be taken.
5. What is the sheet of paper used in balloting called?
6. What does the voter put opposite the name of the man he wishes to vote for?
7. What is printed on the ballot?
8. What happens if the ballots are not properly marked?

Instructions are read to the candidate at the time of taking the test from the pamphlet of instructions as follows: "This is a test to see whether you can read and write English. On the other side of this sheet there is a selection for you to read. Under the selection there are some questions for you to answer. First, read the selection. Next

read the first question. Then go back and read the selection until you find the answer to the first question. Usually the answer will be only one or two words. When you have found the correct answer, write it on the dotted line after the first question. You need not answer in a complete sentence. Write answer as plainly as you can for this is a test of both reading and writing. Answer all the other questions in the same way. When you have answered every question, read the selection over again and make sure you have no mistakes. If you have any questions, ask them now."

A certificate of literacy may be issued to all applicants who show that they have completed the fifth grade in the public schools of the state, or to those who have completed work equivalent to the fifth grade in evening, private, or parochial schools of the state, as well as to those who successfully pass the examination described above. The law provides that opportunity shall be given to secure the literacy certificates in the two weeks preceding registration. School officials are in charge.

The experiment is a novel one in its attempt definitely to connect up the school authorities with the qualifications for voting. The Americanization movement in New York state has furnished aliens the opportunity to learn English when applying for citizenship and an equal chance to comply with the state educational qualification for voting.

F. G. CRAWFORD.

Syracuse University.

No Cabinet Government in Oregon. For now fourteen years, off and on, proposals for the cabinet form of government in state administration—the abolition and consolidation of state offices, boards and commissions, and their subordination to the governor—have been considered more or less seriously in Oregon. The plan of reorganization advocated by W. S. U'Ren and others first in 1909, was favored more in other states than in Oregon, and doubtless at least indirectly influenced the actual adoption of similar plans by other states in recent years. Idaho and Washington and, to a less extent, California are among the reform states; but the example of all of its neighbors has apparently meant nothing to Oregon. "Consolidation" was a leading issue especially at two sessions of the legislature, in 1919 and 1923, but nothing in the direction of reform was actually accomplished at either. At the session of 1923 several "consolidation" bills were introduced,

but none was finally enacted in spite of all the promises of the election campaign. Numerous causes contributed to the defeat of reform, including indifference, ignorance, prejudice, selfish political interest, and lack of effective leadership.

JAMES D. BARNETT.

University of Oregon.

NEWS AND NOTES

PERSONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

EDITED BY FREDERIC A. OGG

University of Wisconsin

The next annual meeting of the American Political Science Association will be held at Columbus, Ohio, during the last week of December. The committee on program is as follows: Robert C. Brooks, Swarthmore College, chairman; Francis W. Coker, Ohio State University; Robert T. Crane, University of Michigan; and Pitman B. Potter, University of Wisconsin. The American Historical Association will meet at Columbus at the same time.

Dean Maximo M. Kalaw, of the University of the Philippines, has been elected exchange professor at the University of Michigan for the year 1923-24. Professor Ralston Hayden, of Michigan, is teaching in the University of the Philippines the present year.

On retiring last February from the presidency of the University of Chicago, Dr. Harry Pratt Judson resigned also the chairmanship of the department of political science. Professor Charles E. Merriam succeeds to the latter position. Dr. Judson expects to devote much of his time hereafter to writing in the general field of public affairs.

Professor Edwin M. Borchard, of the Yale University Law School, has been invited by the Academy of International Law, at The Hague, to deliver a series of lectures there next August on the protection of nationals abroad. He will also, in the near future, represent the Peruvian government as counsel in the arbitration between Peru and Chile on the Tacna-Arica question before the President of the United States.

Dr. Leo S. Rowe, ex-president of the American Political Science Association and director-general of the Pan American Union, sailed for Santiago on March 5 to serve as a delegate of the United States at the fifth Pan American conference.

Professor J. W. Garner, of the University of Illinois, completed his series of lectures at Calcutta in mid-winter and returned to the United States, by way of Europe, in time to resume his university duties at the opening of the second semester. He will deliver, in the autumn, a series of lectures on international regulation of aerial navigation at the Academy of International Law at The Hague.

Professor F. E. Horack, who spent the earlier part of the academic year in research work in California, resumed teaching at the State University of Iowa at the opening of the second semester. In the coming summer session he will offer a new course on legal aspects of school administration in Iowa.

Dr. I. L. Pollack, of the State University of Iowa, has recently published two volumes dealing with food administration in Iowa during the war. The State Historical Society has published a monograph by Mr. J. J. Sherman, graduate assistant in political science, on the office of county superintendent of schools.

Among addresses recently delivered at the State University of Iowa was one by Professor Stephen Leacock on "Education for a Democracy" and one by Mr. Y. L. Fang, ex-minister of education in China, on "Recent Politics in China." Professor A. B. Hart, of Harvard University, also addressed a conference-seminar composed of members of the instructional staff and graduate students.

Dr. Clyde L. King, of the University of Pennsylvania, has resigned his professorship of political science in order to accept appointment by Governor Pinchot as secretary of the commonwealth and also as budget officer. Dr. H. W. Dodds, secretary of the National Municipal League, is temporarily in charge of Dr. King's courses at Pennsylvania.

New York University is the recipient of a bequest of eighty thousand dollars from Mr. Frederic C. Penfield, who died somewhat less than a year ago. Mr. Penfield was long in the diplomatic service of the United States, and the money is required by his will to be used in maintaining a number of "Penfield scholarships" for training American young men in diplomacy, international affairs, and belles-lettres. There will be two scholarships paying one thousand dollars each, two paying eight hundred dollars each, three paying five hundred, and others pay-

ing smaller amounts. Persons interested are invited to correspond with Dean E. B. Babcock of the graduate school of the university.

The Municipal University of Toledo has established a chair of municipal science. Dr. O. Garfield Jones, head of the department of political science, gives, among other courses, one on American colonial policy since 1898. He was in the Philippines four years as a civilian and later, in 1918-19, as officer in charge of the mine defense of Manila Bay.

A fund of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been given to the University of Chicago for a lectureship on international relations in memory of N. W. Harris. The endowment is to be known as the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation and is to be utilized with a view to the improvement of international relations. It may be added that a fund of twenty thousand dollars has been provided by the university for research by the social science departments. This money is to be used in studying social, economic, and political conditions in Chicago.

The National Conference of Social Work maintains a committee on law and government, whose chairman for the current year is Dean Roscoe Pound, of Harvard University. At the fiftieth anniversary session of the conference, held at Washington May 16-23, one day's proceedings were devoted, under Dean Pound's chairmanship, to the problems and work of this committee.

The Institute of Politics will hold its third session during the coming summer (July 26-August 25) at Williamstown, Massachusetts. As at former sessions, the general subject for discussion and study will be International Relations. The topics to be discussed at the round-table conferences concern the following geographical areas: the Pacific Ocean, Latin America, and the Near East. In addition to considering problems connected with these areas, such general questions as international trade and finance, the League of Nations, the law of the air, the conduct of foreign relations, and race as a factor in politics are to be discussed. Besides the round-table conferences, which are strictly limited in size, it is proposed this year to conduct two open conferences for the discussion of current international problems. Persons interested are invited to communicate with the executive secretary, Professor W. W. McLaren, at Williamstown.

At the seventeenth annual meeting of the American Society of International Law, held at Washington, April 26-28, Secretary Hughes spoke on the Permanent Court of International Justice; Professor Lindsay Rogers, of Columbia University, presented a paper on the relation of the armistice and the treaty of Versailles; and discussion of "the existing state of international law, its bases, its scope, and its practical effectiveness" was participated in by Professors C. G. Fenwick of Bryn Mawr College, M. O. Hudson of Harvard University, P. B. Potter of the University of Wisconsin, and E. M. Borchard of Yale University. The question of whether the jurisdiction of the United States is exclusive within the three-mile limit and whether it extends beyond this limit for any purpose was debated by Professor P. M. Brown of Princeton University, and Hon. F. K. Neilsen, ex-solicitor of the state department.

A Social Science Research Council, on lines made familiar by the National Research Council in the field of the natural sciences, has been in process of formation during recent weeks. The American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Society took favorable action on the project at their December meetings, and representatives of these organizations have been designated to formulate plans. The representatives of the American Political Science Association are Professor Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Robert T. Crane, of the University of Michigan. On call of Professor Merriam, a preliminary meeting was held at Chicago late in February. Pending permanent organization, Professor Merriam was asked to serve as temporary chairman; and a committee was appointed to confer with any other groups interested.

Another evidence of the growing interest in political research is the organization of a National Conference on the Science of Politics. This conference is to be held September 2-8, at a place yet to be designated. The conference is planned to deal exclusively with problems of methodology and technique in political research. Round tables are to consider methods of investigation as they relate to such specific problems as the actual results of the direct primary, the connections between psychology and politics, political statistics, principles of legislation, and the formulation and testing of political theory. The committee in charge of the conference consists of Professor A. B. Hall,

University of Wisconsin (chairman), Dr. Luther Gulick, New York City (secretary), Professor Charles E. Merriam, University of Chicago, Professor A. N. Holcombe, Harvard University, and Mr. F. P. Gruenberg, Philadelphia.

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, on May 11 and 12, took the form of a *national conference on the foreign relations of the United States*. The sessions were devoted to the following topics: stabilization of European finances and currency, the Near East, the revision of the treaty of Versailles, the reparations problem, the rehabilitation of France and Germany, and American contributions to the peace of Europe. The American Political Science Association was officially represented at the meeting by Professors Lindsay Rogers, of Columbia University, C. G. Fenwick, of Bryn Mawr College, and Frederic A. Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin.

Four hundred judges, lawyers, and teachers of law met at Washington in February, on call of a committee headed by Hon. Elihu Root, to consider methods of improving American law and judicial procedure. After surveying the present defects of the law, the committee outlined a plan for the formation of an American Law Institute; and an organization of the sort was effected.

The Institute of Government Research, at Washington, has published a volume of some three hundred pages entitled "*The Reorganization of the Administrative Branch of the National Government*." The book was prepared primarily for the purpose of getting the Institute's views on the subject before the congressional joint committee on the reorganization of the departments. It discusses not only the particular changes that ought to be made in our national administration but also the principles that should underlie any proper system of administrative organization. Occasion may here be taken to call attention to the fact that the handling of the publications of the Institute, both past and future, has been transferred from D. Appleton and Company to the Johns Hopkins Press at Baltimore.

As the result of a movement originating at a meeting of the Assembly of Civil Service Commissioners held at Rochester in 1919, a Bureau of Public Personnel Administration was established October 1, 1922, as a subsidiary of the Institute for Government Research at Washington.

The new bureau is administered by the Institute, with the coöperation of an advisory board representing the various groups most interested in public personnel administration, i.e., the U. S. Civil Service Commission, the National Civil Service Reform League, the Assembly of Civil Service Commissioners, and the National Research Council. The director is Dr. W. F. Willoughby, director of the Institute, and the offices are in the Institute's new quarters at 26 Jackson Place. Like the Institute, the Bureau is privately supported and has no official connection with any federal, state, or other governmental authority. A private citizen interested in civic betterment has given it the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars a year for a period of three years, with no conditions attached except that the money is to be used in the study and solution of public personnel problems. In laying out the field, the advisory board has decided that the Bureau will undertake work directly or indirectly concerned with the improvement of public personnel administration in the United States, Canada, and Cuba; and the nature of the work to be done is outlined as follows: (1) to secure detailed information with regard to the governing laws and the rules, duties, organization, tests, forms, records, operating procedure, and costs of federal, state, provincial, county, municipal, and park civil service commissions or other public personnel bodies and, as far as practicable, make such information available to civil service officers and employees either in answer to specific requests or in form for general distribution; (2) to act as consultants, upon request, to officers and employees of civil service commissions with regard to problems of organization or administration; (3) to give assistance upon request to public officials, to administrative officers, to organizations, and to individuals interested in extending or strengthening the merit system; in the case of reorganized or newly established commissions, such assistance may include aid in securing and training employees, preparing rules and office regulations, and establishing modern tests, forms, records, and operating procedure; (4) to carry on, either with its own facilities or in coöperation with one or more civil service commissions, experimental and research work for the purpose of discovering means of bettering public personnel administration; such work may include basic legislation, operating rules and regulations, classification of positions, establishment of compensation rates and schedules, methods of selecting employees for entrance and promotion, and training and regulating employees; assistance to one or more commissions in making the improved methods a part of their current practice and the publica-

tion of worth-while results will be considered a normal part of the Bureau's experimental and research work; and (5) to prepare and distribute literature calculated to assist civil service administrators in the better handling of their work or to inform the general public of the methods and benefits of the merit system. A staff has been organized and work on the lines indicated has been begun. Subjects to be investigated, as the facilities of the Bureau permit and the coöperation of civil service commissions can be secured, include clearing house service, civil service laws and practice, classification of positions in the public service, tests and training courses for patrolmen and firemen, tests for skilled trade positions, tests for stenographers and typists, tests for library positions, fields for intelligence tests and objective methods, service rating systems, and training for public employees.

The Fourth International American Conference, held at Buenos Aires in 1910, authorized the governing board of the Pan American Union to convene the fifth conference at its pleasure and to prepare a program for the meeting, together with the necessary procedural regulations. In pursuance of this power, the governing board decided in 1913 that the fifth conference should be held the following year at Santiago; and a comprehensive program was prepared. The European war intervened, and the conference was postponed, with the understanding that it would be held at some future time to be designated by the Chilean government. In April, 1922, that government expressed to the governing board its belief that March, 1923, would be a suitable time for the meeting; and accordingly arrangements were made for the conference which has lately been in session. The program, as revised by a committee headed by Secretary Hughes, enumerated nineteen topics, as follows: (1) the action taken by the participating countries, and the application in each country of the conventions and resolutions of previous Pan American Conferences, with special reference to the convention concerning trade-marks, and the convention on literary and artistic copyright, signed at Buenos Aires, August 20, 1910; (2) organization of the Pan American Union on the basis of a convention, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Fourth Pan American Conference at Buenos Aires, August 11, 1910; (3) the results accomplished by the Congress of Jurists which met at Rio de Janeiro with respect to the codification of international law; (4) measures designed to prevent the propagation of infectious diseases, with special reference to the recommendations of the International Sanitary Conferences; (5) Pan American agreement on the laws and regulations

concerning, and coöperation in the improvement of the facilities of, communication on ocean and land and in the air; (6) coöperation with respect to the supervision of merchandise entering into international commerce; (7) measures for the simplification of passports and adoption of standard form; (8) coöperation in the study of agricultural problems; (9) measures tending towards closer association of the republics of the American continent with a view to promoting common interests; (10) means of giving wider application to the principle of the judicial or arbitral settlement of disputes between the republics of the American continent; (11) means of promoting the arbitration of commercial disputes between nationals of different countries; (12) reduction and limitation of military and naval expenditures on some just and practicable basis; (13) standardizing of university curricula and mutual recognition of the validity of professional degrees among the American republics; (14) rights of aliens resident within the jurisdiction of any of the American republics; (15) status of children of foreigners born within the jurisdiction of any of the American republics; (15) questions arising out of an encroachment by a non-American power on the rights of an American nation; (17) formulation of a plan by which, with the approval of the scholars and investigators in the several countries, approximately uniform means may be used by the governments of the Americas for the protection of those archaeological and other records needed in the construction of an adequate American history; (18) measures adapted to secure the progressive diminution in the consumption of alcoholic beverages; (19) future conferences. The conference has been attended by the entire delegation appointed to represent the United States except Secretary Hughes, who was detained in Washington by the pressure of public business. An interesting and valuable publication called out by the meeting is Director General Leo S. Rowe's "Report to the Governments of the Republics, Members of the Pan American Union, on the Work of the Union since the Close of the Fourth International Conference of American States." Dr. Rowe strongly recommends, among other things, that the activities of the Union be made to rest hereafter on an international convention, rather than, as heretofore, on mere resolutions adopted by successive Pan American conferences.

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, formerly professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin and an ex-president of the American Political Science Association, died at Shanghai, China, on January 26. Since resigning the post of United States minister to China in 1919 he had

served as counsellor to the Chinese government, and it was while on a visit to China in pursuance of this connection—and especially to advise with the Peking officials on the state of the country's finances—that he contracted his fatal illness. Dr. Reinsch was born in Milwaukee in 1870 and was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1892. After studying in Berlin, Paris, and Rome, he returned to Wisconsin, where, after receiving his doctor's degree, he became an instructor. His service at the university extended from 1899 to 1913, and during this time he contributed much to the development of the systematic study of politics and international affairs, not only in his own institution but throughout the country. He was one of the organizers of the American Political Science Association and was a vice-president of the society during its first year (1904). He was on the board of editors of the *Review* for several years and in 1920 held the presidency of the Association. In 1911 he received an appointment from Columbia University as Roosevelt exchange professor at Berlin. He was a pioneer student of international organization and had much personal connection with international affairs. He served as a delegate of the United States at the third and fourth Pan American conferences at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 and Buenos Aires in 1910, and also as a delegate of the United States at the first Pan American Scientific Congress at Santiago in 1909; and he acted at various times as adviser to some of the Latin American governments. His most notable service, however, was in China. Appointed minister to that country by President Wilson in 1913, he remained at Peking somewhat more than six years—a period of most critical character in Chinese history, not only because it included the years of the World War but because it comprehended the earliest formative stages of the new republic. In this position Dr. Reinsch bore himself with dignity and commanded the confidence of all friends of the troubled country. Upon his retirement he was given a remarkable demonstration of regard by representative Chinese people, and he had the unusual experience among American diplomats of being retained as official adviser after the termination of his official mission. He lived long enough to see realized one of his many hopes for China's well-being, namely, the restoration of Shantung. His writings ranged widely. Chief among them are the following: *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (1900); *Colonial Government* (1902); *Colonial Administration* (1905); *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods* (1907); *Public International Unions* (1911); *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East* (1911); *Secret Diplomacy—How Far can it be Eliminated* (1922); and *An American Diplomat in China* (1922).

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL RESEARCH

In accordance with a resolution passed by the Executive Council of the American Political Science Association at its December meeting of 1921, a committee on political research was appointed by President Dunning. The membership of the committee was as follows: Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, chairman; Robert T. Crane of the University of Michigan, John A. Fairlie of the University of Illinois, and Clyde L. King of the University of Pennsylvania.

The purpose of the committee was to scrutinize the scope and method of political research in the field of government, with a view to obtaining a clearer view of the actual situation and of offering certain constructive suggestions.

The committee held four meetings, one at Pittsburgh in connection with the annual meeting of the Association, one at Cleveland at the time of the Government Research Conference, and two at Chicago. In addition to this a number of conferences were held by the chairman with individual members of the committee.

The committee decided to make the principal part of its work for the first year a survey of the existing research agencies and methods. With this in view, the following fields were assigned to the various members of the committee:

- A survey of recent advances in political methods.

- A survey of the work of government research bodies.

- A survey of legislative and municipal reference agencies.

- A survey of research and equipment in universities and colleges.

- A survey of the research carried on by social and industrial agencies bordering on the field of government.

It was not found feasible to print the entire report made on these various subjects, but a summary of them is presented herewith.¹

The committee also considered various ways and means by which the quality and quantity of political research might be improved, and

¹ The portion dealing with social and industrial research was unavoidably delayed, and is not printed with this summary report.

the general findings and conclusions thus far reached are also presented here.

It is, of course, understood that this report is only preliminary and tentative—the result of the partial exploration of a very small part of a very large field.

By action of the Council at its last session, the research committee has been made a standing committee of the American Political Science Association and will accordingly continue its work during the present year.

I. RECENT ADVANCES IN POLITICAL METHODS

RECENT HISTORY OF POLITICAL THINKING

The purpose of this survey was to examine the development of methods of inquiry in recent years in the field of political science and of the related social sciences. It was also proposed to examine specifically the advance made in methods of the study of government in the United States. And finally it was proposed to sum up the principal advances in method in the study of government and the chief remaining obstacles.

An adequate analysis of recent political thought requires at the outset a look at the fundamental factors conditioning the intellectual processes of the time. Here if time permitted we might sketch the outlines of the larger social forces of the time, such as industrialism, nationalism, urbanism, feminism. We might examine the larger group interpretations as seen in the theories of the middle class, of the business group, or of the labor group, and we might scrutinize the rationalizations of the several race groupings of the time. Any thorough inquiry would necessitate some such wide-sweeping view of the forces that so profoundly affect the character and method of political thought. For present purposes it will be assumed, however, that such an inquiry has been made and that its results are fresh in the mind of the inquirer. It would also be desirable and necessary to examine the general intellectual technique of the time as reflected in philosophy, in religion, and in science. Obviously it is necessary for the purposes of such a paper as this to assume that this survey has already been made. We may then advance to a more minute inquiry into the methods of political thought in the narrower sense of the term. It will be necessary to advance with great rapidity in order to cover the ground within reasonable limits of space, but it is hoped that it may prove possible to sketch

the main outlines of the development of political thinking in recent times adequately for the purposes of considering what methods are now open to the use of political scientists, and what the relative advantages of these methods may be.

METHODS IN RELATED FIELDS

The development of methods of inquiry in related fields of social science is so intimately associated with progress in the study of government that advances in the various social disciplines will be briefly sketched at this point.

Politics has been placed under obligations to economics during the recent period of development.² The classical and historical schools of the first part of the nineteenth century were continued and expanded, but new forms of economic speculation came into vogue. The climax of the classical school was found in the writings of the famous British economist, Alfred Marshall, who while in many ways eclectic in his theory may perhaps most accurately be characterized as a neo-classicist. The historical school found noted expounders, particularly among the German thinkers, in the writings of Wagner, Schmoller, and others. In the main, however, these thinkers continued the development of the classical and historical types of economic reasoning already begun in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the meantime there appeared the Austrian school of economics evolving the doctrine of subjective value, or what might loosely be called psychological values. In the writings of Wieser, Menger, and Böhm-Bawerk, emphasis was shifted from the earlier forms of analysis to another aspect of the economic process which they called the subjective and which some others term psychological. Here we have an attempt to interpret economic values in terms of mental attitudes, suggesting but by no means realizing, the later developments of psychology.

Following the Austrian school came the study of economic motives, instincts, tendencies or traits, in short the inquiry into economic behavior.³ These inquiries were by no means complete, in fact they were characteristically inchoate. Their chief significance thus far is the

² See Haney, *History of Economic Thought*.

³ See W. C. Mitchell, "Human Behavior and Economics, A Survey of Recent Literature," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX, 1; J. M. Clark, "Economists and Modern Psychology," *Ibid.*, XXVI, 6; Z. C. Dickinson, "The Relation of Recent Psychological Developments to Economic Theory," *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 377.

emphasis laid upon another aspect of economic thinking. These scattered inquiries mark, as in the political field, the beginnings of another line of observation and reasoning.

From another point of view the science of economics developed through a statistical, or at times even a mathematical method. Economic statistics were worked out more rapidly than any other form of social measurement. This was due undoubtedly to the stress of business requirements and opportunities. The application of these measurements was direct and evident, closely concerned with the profit-making system of the day and the result was the accumulation of great masses of statistical analyses, often of the very highest value and significance. To be sure the surveys of the past were more common and more accurate than the estimates of the future, but the latter began to find a modest place in the calculations of the more daring economists.

The doctrine of the economic interpretation of history, developed in the middle of the nineteenth century by historians and economists was a subject of further analysis and application.⁴ Loria, following Marx, undertook an interpretation of institutions in terms of economic interests and forces which, while not very skillfully executed, was symptomatic of general tendencies. The socialist group in general utilized the doctrine of the economic basis of politics for purposes of class propaganda. Generally speaking this emphasis upon the economic factor in social life found wider and wider acceptance among the students of politics.

There was a pronounced tendency, however, to inquire into the social and psychological causes of events as well as the more strictly economic. It became evident that unless "economic" was used as an all-inclusive term covering the whole material environment it would be inadequate as an explanation of human behavior in all instances. While it was frequently asserted that men reason in terms of their economic interests, seldom was the question raised as to what determined their precise type of thought. Obviously the interpretation of the same economic interests might differ and even conflict, in which case the reason for the variation must be sought elsewhere than in the economic force itself and must lie in the forms or types of thinking. If out of exactly similar economic situations diametrically opposed conclusions or widely varying types of reasons were developed, it is clear that some other factor

⁴ See E. R. A. Seligman, *The Economic Interpretation of History*.

than the economic interest must have entered into the forces that produced the result.

The study of history during this period developed materials of great significance to political science, although its influence is not as notable as in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. At that time the historical method had swept the field both in jurisprudence and in economics. The German historical jurisprudence and the German national economics had illustrated in a striking fashion the influence of the historical method of inquiry. In this period the historical influence was unquestionably dominant, although toward the end of the era it tended to weaken and decline where it was supplanted by processes of actual observation and of psychological and statistical analysis.

History itself was profoundly influenced by the same set of forces that were gradually changing the character of the study of government.⁶ The conflict between romanticism and positivism in this period was vigorously conducted but on the whole the idealists seemed to yield to the attacks of the historical realists or materialists. Buckle, Ranke, Lamprecht, and in America writers of the type of Turner, recognized the influence of mass, races, societies, economic and social tendencies in determining the course of historical events and they reached out with great avidity for illustrative material of different types. History ceased to be purely military or political, and tended to become either economic or social history, while in some instances historical materialism triumphed completely and the course of events was interpreted altogether in terms of the action and interaction of environmental influences. While these tendencies appeared, the bulk of historical writings, however, was still under the older school of the mid-century, in the main, political narrative with some deference to the influence of social forces, but often without any very searching analysis of these factors or any technique other than of critical documentation. The historian could distinguish the genuine writing from the bogus, or he could scour the world with immense enthusiasm and industry to uncover hidden manuscripts or archives hitherto unknown. In his critical analysis, however, he waited on the activities of other social studies. At their methods and results he was not infrequently prone to cavil or complain.

⁶ See G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*; Croce, *Theory and History of Historiography*, especially ch. 7 on the "Historiography of Positivism;" Shotwell, *History of History*; F. J. Teggert, *Processes of History* (1918); John C. Merriam, "Earth Sciences as the Background of History," *Scientific Monthly*, Jan., 1921.

From the point of view of political science, however, an immense amount of institutional political history was uncovered and made available, and in the absence of a more definite technique on the part of the students of politics and in the absence of an adequate number of observers and students of government, the boundary lines between government and history were blurred, as indeed they must always overlap, and the technical writing of the history of politics was still in the hands of the historical group. Economists, however, tended to take over the evolution of economic thought and institutions as did the workers in the field of material science. The review of the scientific processes and forms was completely taken over by the technicians in the various scientific disciplines, as in the case of the history of mathematics, the history of chemistry, and the history of physics.

Significant advances were made in the last generation by the sociologists, who began the study of social organization and process in systematic fashion. While much of the work of Comte and Spencer was abandoned, there remained an impulse toward the development of a science of society, which enlisted the sympathy of many students.⁶ The work of Gumplovicz, Ratzenhofer, Simmel, Durkheim, Tarde, LeBon and, in America, Small, Ross, and Giddings, was a notable contribution to the understanding of the social process. For the sociologists a central problem was that of social control, to which political control was incidental and collateral, but inevitably the study of the one subject threw light upon the other. Of special significance was the attention directed by these students to the importance of social forces and social groups in the development and functioning of political forces, purposes, and institutions. Political scientists of the type of Bodin in the sixteenth and Gierke in the nineteenth century had directed attention to these factors, but they had been somewhat neglected and new interest and study of them was imperatively needed.

The sociologists did not arrive at a very definite social technology, but they struggled hard with the problem and made certain advances of note. The use of the social survey was an achievement of value in the understanding of the social process and tended to introduce more exact methods into the task of social measurement. The frequent use of the case method was also an accomplishment of great utility in the development of the more accurate study of social phenomena.⁷

⁶ See H. A. Barnes, "The Contribution of Sociology to Political Science," *American Political Science Review*, XV, 487; Albion W. Small, "Sociology," in *Encyclopaedia Americana*.

⁷ See Bowley, *Measurement of Social Phenomena*.

Of great significance in the methods of political science were the inquiries in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology. Here were opened out wide vistas in the early development of the race and in the study of the characteristics of the various groups of mankind.⁸ In the field of quantitative measurement, anthropology made material progress, endeavoring to work out the characteristics of groups by means of physical standards and tests. Even anthropology, however, was often overlaid with race prejudice or with national influence or propaganda of an absurdly transparent type.

A significant development at this point was the rise of anthropogeography. The beginnings of this study may be found in the political science of Bodin in the sixteenth century, as well as in Montesquieu in the eighteenth. The researches of Ratzel and others in this field were of special magnitude and value;⁹ and they were developed and carried on by many students in various sections of the world. In the most advanced form of their inquiries, these students undertook the interpretation of human relations in terms of geographic environment; but this was soon extended to cover more than is usually contained within the limits of geography, and came to include practically all of the factors commonly called social. On the whole their inquiries were very useful to the study of government in that they tended to shift the emphasis from the purely traditional and authoritarian to the material, the measurable, and the comparable.

In the field of psychology progress was rapid. Advancing from purely philosophical inquiry to standardized and comparable methods of observation, psychology tended to become an instrument of relative precision and uniformity in its application. It was no longer introspective and meditative alone, but developed instruments for making observation standardizable and comparable, and began to make possible a clearer understanding of human behavior, and of what had hitherto been charted as the great unknown in human nature. The significance of psychology for political inquiry was not at first fully appreciated, but in time the results of the psychologists began to be appreciated by the student of government and of social science. Political psychology began to be a subject of discussion and the terminology of psychology came into common although not accurate use in political inquiry.

⁸ See Myers, "The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science," *Univ. of Calif. Publications*.

⁹ *Anthropogeographie*; "Der Staat und sein Boden;" "Politische Geographie."

Psychology began also to find practical application to the problems of government.¹⁰

In still broader fashion social psychology tried to solve the problem, dealing not merely with individuals but with the group, or with the intricate interrelations between groups. Here we approach closely the work of some of the sociologists who were interested in the same problem and undertook somewhat the same type of examination.

METHODS OF POLITICAL INQUIRY

The philosophical treatment of politics, firmly established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, continued in recent time, but with less notable examples of logical method than in the eighteenth or earlier nineteenth century. John Stuart Mill's type of political and social reasoning had marked the end of an epoch of speculation among English thinkers, as had that of Hegel among the German philosophers.¹¹ Bosanquet was an apostle of neo-Hegelianism, while Hobhouse discussed the metaphysical theory of the state. Sorel, an engineer, and Coie, a mediaevalist, discussed political problems in philosophical style, while Bertrand Russell, the brilliant mathematician, essayed a theory of politics. The pragmatists, best represented by Dewey, definitely set about to effect a reconciliation between philosophy and affairs, and to develop a type of logic adequate to the demands of the situation. In the main, however, it is clear that the a priori speculation upon political questions was on the decline as compared with the thinking of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Many thinkers approached the problem of government from the juristic point of view, and primarily their method was the logic of the law.¹² But in many of the leading instances, this attitude was modified by other forms of inquiry. Thus Gierke was essentially a student of the genesis of political ideas. Maitland and Pollock were also deeply interested in the genetic processes of legal development. Von Ihering, with his far-reaching doctrine of social interests, the protection of which is the chief concern of the law, was deeply affected by the social studies of his time, and showed the profound influence of the social science of his day. Berolzheimer was imbued with the influence of social and

¹⁰ See the review of these applications in a paper by Dr. Harold F. Gosnell, read before the American Political Science Association in Dec., 1922. Compare Hollingsworth, *Applied Psychology*.

¹¹ See Mill's *Logic*; Dunning, *A History of Political Theories*, III, ch. 4.

¹² See *Science of Legal Method*, in Modern Legal Philosophy Series, ch. 10.

economic forces in shaping the course of law and government. Duguit was likewise fundamentally affected by the rising study of social forces and of sociology in systematic form. Pound with his sociological jurisprudence is a modern illustration of the same general tendency. Jellinek with the theory of subjective public law and Wurzel with his projection theory are conspicuous examples of legal logic modified by psychology and by the consideration of social forces.

The study of criminology followed another line of advance, proceeding with Lombroso and his more conservative followers to adopt methods of measurement, to consider the influence of the environment and statistical analysis foreign to the speculations of the stricter juristic group, but enormously fruitful in ultimate result upon the nature of penology. In this respect these studies differed widely from the current type of legal speculation, placing itself upon the basis of scientific inquiry rather than upon precedent or the logic of the law.

A frequent way of approach to the study of politics has been the historical inquiry into the development of political institutions. The modern historical movement began as a reaction against the doctrinaire theories of the French revolutionary period, and swept through the domain of law and government. In recent times it has been a well travelled road toward political conclusions and much of the energy in political research has been expended in this field. A survey of the literature of the time shows that the bulk of the output falls under this category. The process of development is employed for the purpose of illustrating broad movements and tendencies of political and social forces, and perhaps deducing certain lessons, morals, or laws from the examination of the past. Thus the previous development of the institution or the people is used to explain its present status or its probable future tendency. In these situations the history of political ideas or customs or forms or institutions becomes the background for the consideration of its present situation.

Another method has been that of comparison of various types of institutions, with a view of classifying, analyzing, discovering similarities and dissimilarities in them. Here we have a study of comparative government or law which, while using historical material, is not confined to an inspection of the genetic process, but employs contemporary material as a basis for political reasoning. Industrious researches of this type have been carried on in recent years both by jurists and by students of government. Kohler is a conspicuous example of the juristic group and Bryce of the other. Freeman, Seeley, Sidgwick,

Hasbach, Laband, and many others have employed similar methods. In general, description and classification are developed in this way and certain useful comparisons and analogies are set up.

With the comparison of types there came to be a body of political science centering around the observation and description of actual processes of government, as distinguished from historical development or from comparisons of existing types of organization and structure. Much of Bryce's work fell under this head, as did that of Ostrogorski, Redlich, and Lowell. Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, Ostrogorski's *Democracy and the Organization of the Party System*, Lowell's *Government of England*, and Redlich's *Local Government in England* are examples of this method of studying government. Many monographic studies of the workings of particular institutions were made in various parts of the world, some decidedly descriptive and structural and some more noticeably analytical. Many of these studies were of course combined with historical inquiries and comparative and analogical researches.

Closely associated with the development of comparison of types and observation of processes was the form of investigation which came to be called the survey. This method of investigation appeared almost simultaneously in economics, government, and sociology. The essence of the survey was the actual observation of forces in operation, with an effort to measure these forces and to standardize some system of measurement. The survey owed much to the engineers and the accountants who contributed materially to its development. The engineer was of course the original surveyor laying out his lines and conducting his measurements with great accuracy and precision. Surveys of human behavior were also taken up by the industrial engineers especially in the form of the time and motion studies of the Taylor-Emerson type. Here we have an effort at precise measurement of human behavior in the shape of what was commonly called scientific management. At the outset these studies omitted the basic factor of psychology, but later on they reinstated this essential element in their calculations although not achieving complete success in this undertaking. The accountant also aided through the analysis of financial data leading to the creation of cost accounting, a process which led to an objective appraisal of human behavior or human services rendered for specific purposes. Thus the accountant and the engineer have given a sharper point to the observation of political forces and processes than it had ever had before.

The social survey was developed by the sociologists approaching the inquiry from another point of view. Much was undoubtedly due to

the efforts of city workers of the type of Booth in London and many other scattered students. The classic type of large scale survey employing modern methods was the Pittsburgh Survey, followed by many others, usually upon a smaller scale. The survey of course contained elements of advertising, or publicity, or even propaganda, as well as an element of scientific analysis, and sometimes the advertising features overtopped the scientific analysis, but in the main it directed attention specifically toward concrete factors which were observed objectively and as far as possible measured accurately, analyzed, and compared carefully.

The political survey developed most rapidly in the United States and especially in the urban communities. The large scale losses and wastes in the expenditure in cities challenged attention, and specialized grafting was met by specialized analysis and inquiry for the purposes of community protection. These investigations while carried on by trained students of political science were usually conducted outside of the academic walls. The leader in this movement was the New York Bureau of Municipal Research followed by the many other similar agencies in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and elsewhere. The political survey was the immediate observation of the operations of government combined with the effort to measure these operations as precisely as possible and to organize methods of comparison and conduct analysis of facts observed. This method was distinct from the juristic method or the historical method or the historical-comparative method in that it substituted actual observations of government in operation and made strenuous efforts toward precise measurement. These efforts were not always wholly successful, but at any rate they were movements in the direction of precision. Later, similar undertakings were set on foot by state governments and by the United States government. In England also national inquiries of the same character have been carried through on a considerable scale.

Another group of thinkers approached the study of government from the point of view of psychology, or of social psychology, bordering upon what might be called political psychology. Of these by far the most conspicuous was the English thinker, Graham Wallas, whose *Human Nature in Politics*, and the later and more systematic study, *The Great Society*, started a new line of political investigation and opened up new avenues of research. It is interesting to compare Wallas' chapters on material and method of political reasoning with the famous chapters in Mill's *Logic* on the logic of the moral sciences.

Wallas, originally a student of the classics, later interested in practical political activity, reacted against the consideration of government in terms of form and structure and undertook an interpretation in terms of human nature. This method of inquiry seemed to involve the development of a type of political psychology. In his *Great Society* Wallas considered political forces as organized around the three fundamental factors of intelligence, love, and happiness, on the basis of which he endeavored to rebuild a political theory and a political structure. In *Our Social Heritage* he opened out still other forms of subtle analysis of political processes, hitherto unexplored.

Wallas' work was brilliant, stimulating, and suggestive, rather than systematic. While he discussed the influence and importance of quantitative measurement of political phenomena, he did not make elaborate use of statistical data in his work; and while he continually emphasized the significance of a psychology of politics, he did not advance far in that direction. But on the whole his work was a decided variation from that of his predecessors or contemporaries, and his impetus to a new method was a notable one. An interesting comparison might be made between the method of John Stuart Mill, that of Lord Bryce, and that of Graham Wallas, all significant figures in the shaping of English political thought.

Walter Lippmann followed much the same method as his early instructor, Wallas, notably in his *Preface to Politics* and in his *Public Opinion*.¹³ Lippmann made wider use of contemporary psychological advances than did Wallas, however. A significant phase of his discussion is the analysis of organized intelligence in the concluding chapters of *Public Opinion*. This is a plea for the establishment of an intelligence bureau in the several departments of the government, and for a central clearing house of intelligence centers. Accompanying this is the suggestion for the articulation of these intelligence centers with the work of the professional students of government in the development of the problems of "terminology, of definition, of statistical technic, of logic."

There were also eclectic types of thinkers employing several of the methods just described. There was no writer who did not employ logic and history and comparison and analogy at various times. Even the most dogmatic lapsed into statistics at times, and the most statistically inclined developed philosophical attitudes somewhat inconsistent

¹³ Especially chs. 23-28.

with the general position of the statistician. Differences in method were often differences in emphasis and in degree rather than in kind. Nevertheless the differences were appreciable and significant evidences of the general tendency in methods of political theory. Broadly speaking they indicate the following to be the chief lines of development of the study of political processes.

1. The a priori and deductive method down to 1850.
2. The historical and comparative method, 1850-1900.
3. The present tendency toward observation, survey, measurement, 1900—.
4. The beginnings of the psychological treatment of politics.

SUMMARY OF ADVANCES AND DIFFICULTIES

From another point of view we may summarize the advances in the study of politics in the period since the vogue of the natural law philosophy, roughly speaking during the last one hundred years, as:

1. The tendency toward comparison of varying types of political ideas, institutions, processes; toward analyzing similarities and dissimilarities.

2. The tendency toward closer scrutiny of economic forces in their relation to political processes, in some cases extending to the economic interpretation of all political phenomena. In this, the relative ease of quantitative measurement of certain economic facts greatly aided the process, in fact tending to an extension of economic beyond the ordinary usage of the term.

3. The tendency toward the consideration of social forces in their relation to political processes. At times this took the form of a social interpretation of all political facts.

4. The tendency toward closer examination of the geographical environment, and its influence upon political phenomena and processes.

5. The tendency toward closer consideration of a body of ethnic and biological facts, in their relation to political forces.

6. These influences taken together set up another relationship between political phenomena and the whole environment, both social and physical. Crude analogies of this kind had already been made by Bodin and Montesquieu, but these were by no means as fully developed as the later and far more minute and searching inquiries.

7. The tendency to examine the genetics of political ideas and institutions. This was the joint product of history and biology with their joint emphasis on the significance of historical growth and develop-

ment and of the evolutionary theory of life. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, it has operated powerfully upon all political thought.

8. The joint tendency to combine a view of the environment (economic, social, physical) as a whole, with the genetic or evolutionary point of view may be said to have effected a profound and indeed almost revolutionary change in political thinking. Certainly this is true in comparison with the static doctrine of scholasticism, or with the absolutistic tendencies of the *Naturrecht* school of thought.

9. The tendency toward more general use of quantitative measurement of political phenomena. On the one side this took the form of statistics or the mathematical analysis of political processes. The great agency through which this was brought about was the census, which prepared great masses of material, for the use of the observer and the analyst. Two disciplines in particular were able to apply the quantitative methods with especial success. These were anthropology and psychology, in which domains notable advances were made in the direction of measurement.

10. Political psychology was foreshadowed but not at all adequately developed during this time.

These tendencies taken together may be said to constitute the most significant changes in the character of political thought down to the present day. Significant defects in the scientific development of the study of government are as follows:

1. Lack of comprehensive collections of data regarding political phenomena, with adequate classification and analysis.
2. Tendency toward race, class, nationalistic bias in the interpretation of data available.
3. Lack of sufficiently precise standards of measurement and of precise knowledge of the sequence of processes.

Some fundamental difficulties in the scientific study of political processes are readily discerned.

1. The paradox of politics is that group discipline must be maintained in order to preserve the life of the group against internal and external foes; but that rigid discipline itself tends to destroy those vital forces of initiative, criticism, and reconstruction without which the authority of the group must die. There must be general conformity with the general body of rules and regulations laid down by the state, otherwise there is no advance upon anarchy; but there must also be reasonable room for freedom of criticism, for protest, for suggestion and invention within the group.

2. The difficulty of isolating political phenomena sufficiently to determine precisely the causal relations between them. We know that events occur, but we find so many alternate causes that we are not always able to indicate a specific cause. For the same reason we are unable to reach an expert agreement upon the proper or scientific policy to pursue and by the same logic we are unable to predict the course of events in future situations.

3. The difficulty of separating the personality of the observer from the social situation of which he is a part; of obtaining an objective attitude toward the phenomena he desires to interpret. This has been perhaps the chief stumbling block in the evaluation of the political process. Classes and races and all other types of groupings put forward as authoritative the so-called principles which are the outgrowths of their special interests, unconsciously perhaps interpreting their own interests in general terms of universal application. Thus the greater part of political theorizing on close analysis proves to be more or less thinly veiled propaganda of particular social interests. A theory may contain an element of truth or science in it, but the truth will be so colored by the interests of those who advance the particular theory that it has little genuine or permanent value. The opinions of the most eminent philosophers of a given race or nation regarding the merits of that race or nation are subject to heavy discount, almost without exception. The same thing may be said of the defenders of economic classes or of other types of groups. In the last hundred years, progress has been made in separating the student of politics from his local situation; but the livid propaganda of the war period and the attitude of nationalistic scientists toward each other indicates that after all relatively little progress has been made. Not only were political scientists often made propagandists, but they subordinated the work of all other scientists to their purpose, namely the advocacy and advancement of nationalistic claims.

4. The difficulty of obtaining the mechanism for accurate measurement of the phenomena of politics. Until relatively recent times, most estimates had been rough and uncritical. It is only since the development of modern statistics that anything like accuracy or precision in political fact material was possible. Even now obstacles apparently insuperable are commonly encountered. The development of adequate machinery for the survey of political forces is still ahead of us. Yet the development of mechanical devices for observation of facts and their analysis do not present difficulties that cannot be overcome with sufficient persistence, ingenuity, and imagination.

5. A fourth difficulty lies in the absence of what in natural science is called the controlled experiment. The student of physical science constructs a temporary hypothesis which he proceeds to verify if possible by processes of experiment, performed under his direction and control. These experiments he may reproduce at will until he is satisfied of the truth or error of his hypothesis. Such experiments, however, have seemed to lie beyond the reach of the student of political or social science. On the other hand, the living processes of politics are constantly going on, reproduced countless times at various points, and in various stages of the world's political activity. It is possible to draw inferences and to verify these inferences by repeated observation in the case of recurring processes. This requires, however, the setting up of more subtle and precise machinery than has yet been invented. It is possible that the mechanism for this process may be found in the development of modern psychology or social psychology, which seems to hold the key to the study of types of conduct or behavior, or in statistical measurement of processes recurring over and over again in much the same form, and apparently in sequences that may be ferreted out, given sufficient acuteness and persistence.

These are not presented as final objectives or as insuperable difficulties. They present obstacles, but that they cannot be overcome we do not know; neither do we know that they can be overcome. We only know that we do not know whether it is possible or impossible to ascertain with scientific precision the laws that govern human behavior in the political field or in the social field.

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

With reference to the development of political science in the United States, we may say that down to the middle of the nineteenth century there was no effort to systematize the study of government. There was the shrewdest kind of practical political wisdom or prudence exhibited by men of the type of Hamilton, Madison, Adams, and Jefferson, and on the juristic side by such masters as Marshall, Story, Webster, and Calhoun. But of organized scientific study there was little trace. To this we may make exception in John Adams' *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*, and Calhoun's *Disquisitions on Government*.¹⁴

¹⁴ Explanation of current types of political theory are seen in Nathaniel Chipman, *Principles of Government* (1793); F. Grimke, *Considerations on the Nature and Tendency of Free Institutions* (1848); Richard Hildreth, *The Theory of Politics* (1853).

The founder of the systematic study of government was Francis Lieber, a German refugee who came to America in 1827. His *Manual of Political Ethics* (1838-39) and his *Civil Liberty and Self Government* (1853) were the first systematic treatises on political science that appeared in the United States, and their influence was widespread. Lieber was a pupil of Niebuhr, the famous German historian, and was familiar with the German and continental developments of this period. After many vicissitudes, he became professor of politics in Columbia University. His characteristic achievement was the introduction of a form of historical and comparative method of inquiry into the field of political study.¹⁵

The next great impetus to organized political inquiry came with the foundation of the Johns Hopkins and Columbia schools of history and political science. The moving spirit in the Johns Hopkins movement for the scientific study of history was Herbert B. Adams, while the founder of the Columbia school of political science (1880) was John W. Burgess. Both of these men were trained in the German universities and transplanted into American soil the characteristic methods of their time. These groups laid the foundation for the modern system of historical and political research, basing them in large measure upon the development of what in Germany was called *Staatswissenschaft*. Out of this movement has grown a long series of monographic studies in the field of government and politics. The establishment of these research institutions was epoch-making in the evolution of the scientific attitude toward political inquiry in this country. They undertook the examination of comparative types of institutions, and also undertook inquiry into the genesis of political forms and types. They brought to the study of government for the first time an impartial and objective attitude, and they began the construction of certain mechanisms of inquiry. It may be said that they did not reckon sufficiently at the outset at least with economic and social forces underlying the evolution of political institutions, and that they did not fully appreciate the importance of what has come to be called political and social psychology. These developments were reserved indeed for a later period, in which there came to be a fuller understanding of economic and social influences, and of the more subtle psychological processes underlying and conditioning them.

In the meantime, a great forward step had been taken in the direction of scientific attainment through the expansion of the work of the

¹⁵ See *Miscellaneous Writings*.

United States census bureau, notably under the direction of the well-known economist, General Walker.¹⁶ This work of governmental observation and reporting had been begun with the foundation of the government itself, or shortly thereafter, but for the first half century it made comparatively little progress. Under Walker, the dignity and importance of this highly significant type of large-scale observation was very greatly increased. Large masses of comparable facts assembled with some degree of precision were now attainable for students of government, and of the allied social sciences. The American Statistical Society, first established in 1839, was reorganized and rejuvenated in 1888, and gradually increased in numbers and in information. The statistical development in this country remained in a relatively undeveloped state, however, as is the case down to the present time. One of the major tasks of our political science is the survey of the possibilities of political statistics and the development of schedules for extending the domain of statistical information.

The historical and comparative studies remained the dominant types in the United States for many years, and may be said to be in the ascendancy at the present time. In this group belongs the bulk of the output of the scientific world.

At the end of the period came the beginning of the study of forces behind government as well as the forms and rules of government. The work of Lowell in this field was notable, but was interrupted by his transfer to another realm of activity. Like Bryce and Dicey he pointed the way to a different type and spirit of inquiry, involving the study of the forces conditioning governmental activity. Like Bryce he avowed his lack of faith in political principles of universal validity, but like Bryce he alluded on many occasions to the possibilities of political psychology, a domain however into which neither of them entered.

The work of Lippman, a pupil of Wallas, in the approach to a study of political psychology has already been discussed, but may be again considered in its local, American setting. Advancing from the side of government, he approaches the psychologist, moving forward for the position of the technical analyst of human traits. On the practical side, this is well illustrated by the recent establishment of the bureau of personnel research in the Institute of Government Research, with the union there of the psychologist and the expert in civil service.

Some notable developments are discussed in further detail in this report. Both of them deal with the *modus operandi* of fact collec-

¹⁶ See John Koren, *History of Statistics*.

tion and analysis. One of them was undertaken in connection with the work of the law-makers of the state of Wisconsin, under the leadership of Charles H. McCarthy.¹⁷ Another developed in connection with the activities of municipal government, beginning with the work of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, but later taken up in many other municipalities, and lately to the establishment of the Institute for Government Research, the Institute of Public Administration, and the Institute for Public Service. These movements are of very great significance, however, in the technical development of the study of government, in that they mark the beginning of an effort to collect fresh material regarding the actual operation of political forces, and also the beginning of a more specific relationship between the theory and the practice of government.

An acute English observer recently expressed the belief that in such projects as these the United States might be expected to blaze the trail toward the development of scientific social research in its highest form. The development of the survey, the tendency to observe and analyze political forces, the increasing appreciation of the statistical method, the faint beginnings of political psychology, are all significant advances in the development of political technique.

A notable variation in the general style of study was the application of the doctrine of the economic interpretation of history to certain phases of American political development. This was seen notably in Beard's works on the *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*.¹⁸ Seligman's penetrating critique of the economic interpretation of history was a notable contribution to the methodology of the time. The significance of these studies lies in the fact that they indicated a tendency to go below the surface of the forms of government and politics, and to examine more ultimate factors and forces influencing the situation.

Another notable development was the study of the American frontier by Turner, in which the influence of the pioneer environment upon the course of history was portrayed. The spirit of revolt against the current methods of historical writing was most effectively represented by James H. Robinson, who broke through the conventional lines of historical inquiry, first in his volume on *The New History*, later in his

¹⁷ See *The Wisconsin Idea*.

¹⁸ See also the much less critical study of Gustavus Myers, *The History of the Supreme Court*; also Charles H. Simons, *Economic Forces in the History of the United States*.

The Mind in the Making. Robinson challenged the traditional purposes of history, writing with particular reference to the undue attention given to political and governmental institutions. In his later work, he advanced a step farther and challenged the validity of the current methods of historical and social research. These protests seem to mark the beginning of a new type of historiography similar to the earlier one in its emphasis upon documentation but leading out into broader ranges of what may be termed for lack of a better phrase, social inquiry. Of deep significance was Shotwell's *History of History* (1922).

The beginning of the study of sociology in the United States also influences the course of the systematic study of government.¹⁹ The sociological studies seemed at first somewhat vague and sentimental, but as time went on became more specific, concrete, and more methodical. In the works of Lester F. Ward, the pioneer of sociology in this country, and later Giddings, Small, Ross, Cooley, and others, the sociological point of view and the sociological method became more and more widely influential. Small emphasized particularly the importance of what he called the "social point of view," by which he meant the consideration of all the social factors in a given situation, as distinguished from the isolated or exclusive consideration of economic factors or political factors alone. Ross, particularly in his work on social control, seemed to veer over toward the study which came to be called social psychology. Giddings was at first interested in the development of the fundamental factor which he called "consciousness of kind" and later in efforts to introduce a degree of mathematical accuracy and precision into the measurement of social phenomena.

The development of political economy was also of significance in relation to political science.²⁰ Its chief types of inquiry followed the direction of the classical political economy and the lines of inquiry laid down by the historical school. There were notable evidences, however, of the development of statistical method in economics, even taking the shape of mathematical economics; and there were the beginnings of the study of the psychology underlying economic activities. There was also seen as in the study of government the tendency toward actual observation of economic processes, developing into types of surveys of sets of economic phenomena. Toward the end of the period came the powerful tendency toward vocational training for industry,

¹⁹ See Albion W. Small, *Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States*.

²⁰ Haney, *History of Economic Thought*.

and toward the development of business or industrial research. Broadly speaking, economics and politics seemed to follow parallel lines of advance, from the a priori method of the classical political economy and the natural law school, to historical and comparative studies of economics or of politics, to statistical inquiries and actual surveys, and on to the study of the psychological bases of economic or political activity as the case might be.

It is needless to say that the question of the development of methods will not be settled merely by discussion of the ideally best way of approaching the subject, but rather by the diffusion of the spirit of systematic, intensive, protracted, and sustained inquiry. We are still very far from exact political science, and there must be many experiments and probably many failures before there are many signal successes. The willingness of many men and women to devote long years of arduous and unremitting toil to the detailed study of political problems is a prerequisite to achievement, and even industry and devotion alone will not prove adequate if they slip into the ruts of scholasticism and only wear deeper the grooves of traditional thought. Experience shows that it is easy to fall into industrious but sterile scholarship. Imagination on the one hand and precision on the other, are essential to advancement in this field as in other departments of science. We must have both enthusiasm and tools, often a difficult combination, since the tool makers may lack vision and the visionaries ignore the precise mechanisms or specific attainment. The political scientist must be something of a utopian in his prophetic view and something of a statesman in his practical methods.

Methods of approach to politics may easily be the most sterile subject of inquiry, if not followed by actual trials and tests. The discussion of methods has its greatest value as a by-product of specific undertakings, as an analysis of the strength and weakness of various going tasks of scientific political inquiry, in connection with actual pieces of investigation. Methodological discussion alone will not develop much in the way of scientific advance.

On the other hand scientific progress is not likely to be realized without persistent scrutiny and searching examination of fundamental methods. Like all other sciences, politics constantly faces the necessity of reviewing and revising its methods. Human nature may not change or may change only slowly, but the knowledge of human nature is advancing swiftly, and the understanding of its processes is developing

with great rapidity. The political side of human nature is equally capable of more acute analysis and its processes may likewise be made the subject of more scientific study than ever before in the history of government. Never were there greater possibilities than now in the direction of accurate and scientific knowledge of the processes of political control; and never was the student's responsibility greater for the development of objective and analytical methods of observation of these processes, and for the minute understanding of the nature of the laws that govern their action and must control their adaptation and reconstruction.

It is easy to scoff at the possibilities of scientific research in the field of government, but unless a higher degree of science can be brought into the operations of government civilization is in the very gravest peril from the caprice of ignorance and passion, playing with the high explosives of modern scientific invention. Without the development of a higher type of political science in the fields of secondary education, in the organization of public intelligence, and of the technical knowledge of human nature, we may drift at the mercy of wind and waves or of the storm when we might steer an intelligent course. Social science and political science are urgently needed for the next great stage in the advancement of the human race. As custodians of the political science of our time, the responsibility rests upon us to exhaust every effort to bring the study of government in its various stages to the highest possible degree of perfection, to exhaust every effort to obtain effective knowledge of political forces, to bring to bear every resource of science and prudence at our command.

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II. RESEARCH AGENCIES AND EQUIPMENT

The purpose of these surveys was to ascertain what is actually going on in the way of political research in the various agencies, whether academic, governmental, or otherwise, engaged in technical study of government. It was also proposed to cover lines of related social work very closely connected with governmental research.

This report, therefore, falls into four parts; one dealing with bureaus of political research by Professor Crane, one dealing with legislative

and municipal reference agencies by Professor Fairlie, one dealing with university research and equipment by Professor Merriam, and one dealing with related social and industrial research by Professor King.²¹

BUREAUS OF POLITICAL RESEARCH

Investigation in the field of government is being conducted more or less seriously by a variety of organized groups, such as city clubs, state municipal leagues, state legislative bureaus, university bureaus of government, and bureaus of governmental research. Of these agencies, the last may be called professional, in that they have permanent, paid staffs and are engaged exclusively in this work. It is with these alone that this report deals.

The professional agencies are known under various titles, such as Bureau of Governmental Research, Bureau of Public Efficiency, Bureau of Municipal Research, Institute for Public Service, Citizens' Bureau, Citizens' Research Institute, and varying combinations of these and similar terms. Other organizations, such as the Boston Finance Commission, the Finance Committee of the Chicago City Council, some of the taxpayers' associations, and some of the chamber of commerce bureaus, are doing substantially similar work. There are some fifty professional research agencies scattered over the length and breadth of this country and in Canada, working on city, county, state, and national governments. An increase in their number seems inevitable in view of the growing realization of the difficulty of constructive development of the organization and methods of public authorities by those authorities themselves.

The professional research agencies may be classed in accordance with the character of their support into three groups. The primary group has been organized as a distinctively citizen agency on an entirely independent basis. It is financed directly through individual subscriptions or occasionally through the medium of a community fund. A second group consists of agencies subsidiary to some larger body with a wider range of activity, as a chamber of commerce or a voters' league. In this case the research division is usually financed by the larger organization. Even where it is supported by individual subscriptions, it is under some control by the larger body. The third group is formed of agencies established as regular branches of government. These are not, of course, direct citizen agencies and do not in fact operate with the same freedom.

²¹ This portion of the report was unavoidably delayed, and does not appear in this summary.

These research agencies have a combined income of over three-quarters of a million dollars. Six of them have a budget of twenty-five to fifty thousand and one a budget of a hundred thousand. Most of them spend from ten to twenty-five thousand annually. They employ approximately two hundred and twenty-five staff workers. The average salary paid the staff is \$3500 a year. One-third of the staff receive from \$1800 to \$2400 a year, one-third from \$2500 to \$3900, and one-third from \$4000 to \$6000. The salaries of bureau directors run from \$4000 to \$10,000 and slightly above.

The professional agencies of governmental research are of interest to political scientists from several points of view. There is interest in their method of investigation, in their contributions to political knowledge, in the potential increase and further extension of the scope of their contributions, and in the problem of the relation between the academic scientist and these professionally organized agencies.

The Bureau Method of Research. Of these matters of concern to political scientists, no other equals in significance the question of method. It is not too much to say that the bureaus of research have adopted in principle a more scientific method than that commonly characteristic of the study of government. As stated in the articles of incorporation of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, its methods of procedure are "to collect, to classify, to analyze, to correlate, to interpret, and to publish facts." This is not a new idea in the study of government, but a new emphasis; and in this new emphasis rests a new method.

It is not intended to imply that political science has ignored facts. Every branch of study starts with observed facts. And on the basis of observed facts, every branch of study formulates or induces statements of general principles, derives or deduces conclusions from these general principles, and tests or verifies the conclusions by concrete application. These four steps are present, it is true, in all systematic thinking. But in the varying emphasis placed upon them lie those differences which constitute the real distinctions of method. Philosophy dispenses as far as possible with the first and the last of the four steps. Natural science is characterized by its emphasis on these very steps,—by comprehensive observation of facts and exhaustive verification of conclusions. Students of natural science, and many students of politics, question the appropriateness of the term "political science," for the reason that the study of politics is weak in these two steps. Political science has been slow to admit the importance of political facts—too slow, indeed, to prevent other sciences from estab-

lishing themselves in its proper domain. It has not undertaken anything like the patient accumulation of data on which the natural sciences have been erected. In a few recent studies—of elections, for example,—a new spirit is shown—a spirit that is not complacently content with a research that exhausts what happens to have been recorded in written form, but that demands facts and ever more facts. Yet only the smallest of beginnings has been made, and political science lacks that vast store of accumulated, classified facts which is the heritage of natural science.

In the last centuries, alchemy has become chemistry, astrology has become astronomy, cosmogony has become geology, the charlatan has become the scientist, as, and to the extent that, the investigator has turned from easy *a priori* assumptions whose necessary breeding-ground is ignorance to the hard and unending search for facts. It may well be hoped that the same energy and persistence applied to the political field will reveal sequences of political phenomena where now is seen, as Bain says, only “a plurality of causes with an intermixture of effects.” If so fundamental a change takes place in the method of political research, it will be due in large measure to the initiative of the professional bureaus.

It is not only through their emphasis on facts, however, that the research agencies affect the problem of method. Of scarcely less interest is the extent of their experimentation, for which their strategic situation offers exceptional opportunity. The close contacts which many of them have succeeded in making with public authorities, the influential backing of the persons who finance them, and their appeal to the general public as impartial citizen agencies, place those agencies that are privately supported in a position to make actual tests of many of their conclusions; and those agencies that are supported from public funds have similar, if less effective, opportunities on account of their official connection with government.

It is, of course, to be noted that these experiments are of Bacon’s “fruitful” type. They are initiated, not primarily for the furtherance of science, but to promote good government. The opportunity for experiment is also limited for the present at least in scope. Yet such as it is, it may well be envied by the academic scientist.

Contributions to Political Science. After so much importance has been attributed to the method of study adopted by the bureaus, it must be confessed that the results as measured in actual contributions to political knowledge are disappointing. These results appear to

consist almost wholly of improvements in administrative technique; for the outstanding achievements of the bureaus are these: in connection with the budget, the principles of segregation, of classification by character of expenditure, of appropriation by activity, and of appropriation based on units of service and unit costs of service; in connection with supplies, the principles of standardization and of centralized purchasing; in connection with personnel, the principles of standardization of grades in employment, of standardization of salaries, and of the single employment office in place of the civil service board. Many similar items of less importance might be mentioned.

That these results of bureau activity are practical achievements in the cause of good government will be generally accepted; but that they are scientific principles of politics will certainly meet vigorous denial. It is safe to say, at least, that they are not commonly regarded by political scientists as principles of political science.

To explain the apparent discrepancy between the method and the results of bureau activity it is necessary to consider the limitations under which the bureaus work, and their true function.

The primary task of the bureaus has from the beginning been the promotion of economy and efficiency in government. Among the bureau men themselves there is a high ideal of increased service to be rendered by government, and this ideal has not failed to exert an influence upon their work. Yet it remains true that cheaper service has been and is the primary aim of the bureau movement, and that better service is only secondary. This situation is to some extent inherent. The bureaus that have done effective work and that have set the standards of the bureau movement, are, with only one or two exceptions, citizen agencies. That is to say they rely for financial support on voluntary contributions. Their contributors are generally persons who are more directly interested in tax economies than in service by their governments. It is by no means impossible to interest the well-to-do in the promotion of more and better public service, but it is unquestionably easier to interest them in the promotion of economy. There has been a resulting pressure on the bureaus of which their contributors are doubtless not conscious. These agencies have in consequence rested under the practical necessity of devoting their attention chiefly to making the tax dollar go farther.

Efficiency and economy in government are first of all problems of administration; and it is to administration, therefore, that the bureaus have almost exclusively turned their energies. This tendency has doubt-

lessly been confirmed through the accidental circumstance that the bureau movement originated in the municipalities, where administration is of preponderating importance. It is to be observed, however, that the public budget, the adoption of which in this country should be credited to the bureaus, is not simply administrative in nature; but as an instrument of popular control is of wider political significance. This is true likewise of some recent bureau studies of courts, of city charters, and of state constitutions. With these qualifications, however, the general impression that the bureau movement has been confined to the narrow field of administration appears to be justified.

The same considerations which have led the bureaus chiefly into questions of economy and efficiency, have made it necessary for them to devote much of their time, their energy, and their resources, to securing practical results in the shape of reduced costs of administration. The bureau is not purely an agency of research—it is also an agency of propaganda. The consequence is that the research is often unsatisfactory from a scientific point of view. The search for facts is only too often neglected beyond the point where it ceases to be necessary for immediate practical purposes. Even as garnerers of facts, the bureaus prove disappointing.

Considering the accomplishments and the limitations of the bureaus as here outlined, it would seem that the administrative principles for the formulation of which they have worked, are underrated by political scientists. It is true that while all governmental activity is subject matter of political science, there appears to be place for an independent study of administration. Public administration might be considered properly a branch of a general science of administration, just as public finance may be considered a branch of economics. This view would place bureau work outside of the field of political science, and it is a view which apparently is held by many people. There are two considerations, however, which show it to be invalid. In the first place, even if there were a general science of administration, public administration is also a political problem, just as public finance is a political as well as an economic problem. And the bureaus are working not in a general field of administration but in that of political administration alone. In the second place, there can now be no doubt that efficient administration is of the broadest political interest in every democracy, if indeed it is not the very keystone of a genuinely democratic structure. This conclusion, to which scientific thinkers have been coming, has been strikingly confirmed by the testimony of Lenin out

of the experience of Russia that popular government is an absolute impossibility without administration on scientific principles.

It may well prove that the substantive contributions of the bureaus, limited as they have been to the field of administration, are no less important to political science than their contribution of a new method of research.

It must be understood, however, (and it does not appear to be generally understood) that it is not the primary function of the professional bureau to contribute to political science. Bureau work is applied science, not pure science. It is the application to the solution of concrete problems, of principles provided by pure science. Only for the reason that political science has failed to provide an adequate equipment of general principles, have bureau men been forced to interest themselves in their formulation. There can be no just ground for disappointment in the fact that the bureaus have not accomplished more in a task that is not properly theirs. Nor is there in that fact any indication that the bureau method of research is not productive.

Bureau Potentialities. If the conclusions set forth above as to the value of the professional research agency to the scientific study of politics are sound, the possibilities of bureau development must likewise be of interest. These possibilities look in two directions. There remains much to be done of the same character as that which the bureaus have already accomplished. But this work lies in the field of administration. The more stimulating possibility is the extension of the scope of bureau research beyond the field of administration into the wider sphere of politics.

The bureau men have devoted themselves to the study of administration partly because this appeared the logical point of first attack, and that in which the most concrete results were to be attained. There is nothing in the bureau method of research that is not applicable to wider studies. Indeed, bureau men commonly use the term "administration" in a sense so broad as virtually to include all of government. There is no obstacle in the minds of bureau men, other than those of practical opportunity, to undertaking such studies.

The practical conditions necessary to the making of wider studies are greater personal security and more freedom for bureau workers. The short-term, local financing of the individual agency makes its life a precarious one. The mortality has been high. The tenure of the individual worker, who necessarily becomes a specialist liable to displacement when the limited resources of the bureau have to be turned

to new subjects of study, is still more precarious. The bureau movement needs a national organization independently financed to give greater security to the bureau workers. The latter have formed several projects for such an organization and it is hoped that these attempts will be ultimately successful.

Greater freedom for bureau workers means that they must be relieved of the pressure consciously or unconsciously exerted by their financial backers for immediate practical results in lowered costs of government. A national organization would aid in effecting this object. The direct and feasible course, however, is to educate contributors to the value of wider and more fundamental studies.

There is every reason to anticipate an enlarged and increasingly valuable productivity of the professional agencies.

Relations of University and Bureau Workers. There is, however, a further requisite to the extension of the scope of bureau activity to the general field of political science. Few of the bureau men are trained scientists. Despite the real vision of their leaders in initiating a new method of political research, very few of their workers have had the broad political education and training to enable them to apply it.

Bureau research in its intended rôle is analogous to the chemical or physical research of an industrial plant. Its primary purpose is not the discovery of fundamentals. It is concerned in its characteristic scope only with the task of deducing useful conclusions from the remote principles of pure science. And yet the bureaus are forced to interest themselves in pure science because they have not been supplied by academic political science with the same sort of fundamental equipment as chemistry has supplied to industry.

There is here an opportunity for coöperation between universities and professional agencies. If the bureaus are successfully able to attack the more fundamental problems of politics, such coöperation is essential. It is certain that the bureau men would welcome this coöperation on the part of the academic scientists. Most of the bureaus now open their doors to the college student, and even give him a place on their staffs with a living wage. They would unquestionably go farther than this, and give to faculty men the opportunity with remuneration to work on problems of common interest. And bureau men would be found prolific in suggestions of problems.

From the standpoint of the faculty man, there is much to be gained from such cooperation. The considerable number of the bureaus and their wide spread over the country, their resources of money and staff,

and the greater likelihood of conclusions receiving the actual tests of application, offer opportunities not to be ignored.

In coöperation between the political scientists of our faculties and the bureaus there appears to be an opportunity for a combination of scientific training and of a new method of research coupled with financial resources that holds a most fruitful promise for political science.

The views just expressed may be summed up as follows:

The bureaus have developed a new and better method of political research, but have not produced the results that should flow from this more scientific method chiefly because their province is not pure science but applied science. The bureaus require scientific principles for application to concrete problems, which political science has not supplied them. In the development of scientific principles of politics, bureaus and universities are equally interested. The bureaus have a valuable method and they have funds. The university staffs have men of broad scientific training. Coöperation would appear to bring together factors making for scientific progress.

The following steps are therefore suggested for consideration:

(1) The inclusion of bureau men, a number of whom are among our members, on the proposed permanent committee on political research of the American Political Science Association.

(2) Coöperation of bureau men: (a) in giving regular courses in administration in the universities, and (b) in offering field training to candidates for advanced university degrees in public administration.

(3) Coöperation of university men through actual participation as paid members of the bureau staffs in the study of the more fundamental problems of the bureaus and in their experiments.

(4) The inclusion of applied political science in the program of the proposed annual conference on political research in order that definite problems of political research may be considered by university and bureau men jointly, and plans laid for future investigations.

R. T. CRANE.

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LEGISLATIVE AND MUNICIPAL REFERENCE AGENCIES

Probably the earliest steps towards the systematic collection of materials for the study of governmental problems in the United States were by state libraries, which made desultory collections of official publications, notably those in Massachusetts (established in 1827) and New York.

An important step towards the more systematic use of state libraries was taken in 1890 by the appointment of a legislative librarian for the New York State Library and the preparation and publication of annual indices of state legislation, to which were added later summaries and topical reviews of legislation, which was continued until 1908.

In 1901 a legislative reference bureau was established in Wisconsin under Charles McCarthy, which gave special attention to the collection and classification of current fugitive material relating to subjects of legislation, and also issued for some years a series of brief bulletins on pending legislative topics. This was soon followed by similar legislative reference libraries in other states, until by 1915 work of this kind was being done, to a greater or less extent, in thirty states. A legislative reference department has also been organized in the Library of Congress.

There has been much variation in the methods of organizing this legislative reference work. In more than half the states it is carried on through the state library, or the state law library, as in California, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Texas. There is, however, no uniformity in the organization of state libraries. In several states the legislative reference service is under the direction of some other state authority, sometimes the library commission as in Wisconsin, sometimes in connection with the state university, as in Nebraska. In several states, legislative reference bureaus have been established as distinct administrative agencies, as in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Virginia.

Financial support for this work is limited. Data from twelve states shows that the highest salaries for the chief officer and the total appropriations are largest in Pennsylvania (\$6000 and \$40,000), Illinois (\$5000 and \$40,000), and Wisconsin (\$4750 and \$31,000). The Massachusetts and Connecticut state libraries each have about \$30,000 a year for all branches of their work. In the other states reporting the funds for this work range from \$5000 to \$10,000; and in the other states not reporting the amounts are presumably even less.

The activities of these agencies include: (1) the collection, classification, and cataloging of current and fugitive publications; (2) the preparation of compilations, digests, summaries, and reports on legislative topics; (3) in several states the publication of brief bulletins on such topics and occasionally larger undertakings, such as a *Digest of State Constitutions* in Ohio, and the *Indiana Year Book*; and (4) in some states assistance in bill drafting, notably in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Virginia.

Legislative Reference Agencies

STATE	DATE ESTAB- LISHED	NAME	UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
New York.....	1890	Legis. Ref. Section	State Library
Wisconsin.....	1901	Legis. Ref. Dept.	State Library Com.
Maryland.....	1906	Legis. Ref. Dept.	Baltimore City
Indiana.....	1907*	Legis. Ref. Bureau	
Iowa.....	1907	Legis. Ref. Library	Law Library
Michigan.....	1907	Legis. Ref. Dept.	State Library
North Dakota.....	1907	Legis. Ref. Library	Pub. Lib. Com.
South Dakota.....	1907	Legis. Ref. Division	Dept. of History
Alabama.....	1907		Dept. of Archives and History
Connecticut.....	1908		State Library
Montana.....	1909	Legis. Ref. Bureau	State Library
Pennsylvania.....	1909†	Legis. Ref. Bureau	
Texas.....	1909	Legis. Ref. Division	State Library
Ohio.....	1910	Legis. Ref. Division	State Library
Massachusetts.....	1910		State Library
Nebraska.....	1911	Legis. Ref. Bureau	Univ. of Nebraska
Rhode Island.....	1911	Legis. Ref. Dept.	State Library
Vermont.....	1911	Legis. Ref. Bureau	State Library
California.....	1913	Law and Legis. Dept.	State Library
Colorado.....	1913	Legis. Ref. Bureau	Univ. of Colorado
Illinois.....	1913	Legis. Ref. Bureau	
New Hampshire.....	1913	Legis. Ref. Bureau	State Library
Oregon.....	1913		State Library
Georgia.....	1914	Legis. Ref. Dept.	State Library
New Jersey.....	1914	Legis. Ref. Dept.	State Library
Virginia.....	1914	Legis. Ref. Bureau	
Arizona.....	1915	Law and Legis. Ref. Lib.	
Idaho.....			Law Library
Kansas.....			State Library
Kentucky.....			State Library
Maine.....			State Library
Minnesota.....			State Library
Mississippi.....			State Library
Missouri.....			Library Com.
Washington.....		Legis. Ref. Bureau	Univ. of Wash.
West Virginia.....		Legis. Ref. Bureau	State Historian

* 1915.

† 1911.

State historical societies, sometimes officially recognized and financially supported by the state, have done important research work. In most cases, little attention is given to current political problems. An

important exception, however, has been the State Historical Society of Iowa, which has published twenty substantial volumes, dealing largely with political, economic, and social legislation, as well as twenty annual volumes of the quarterly *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The annual budget of this society, mainly from state appropriations, is about \$50,000, including \$12,000 for research and \$16,000 for publications. Publications of a political character have also been issued by the Illinois and Missouri State Historical Societies and the Alabama department of History and Archives.

Research on political problems has also been carried on by or under the direction of special commissions or legislative committees on particular governmental problems. The number of such investigations has increased largely in recent years. At least thirty were authorized in 1909; and since then from 60 to 80 have been provided for during each biennial period in the various states.²² Some states use this method much more than others—notably Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin. The subjects investigated would make a lengthy catalogue. Among the most frequent and most important have been those relating to taxation,²³ administrative reorganization, data for constitutional conventions, statutory revisions, education, and social and industrial problems.

There is a wide variation in the character of these special investigations; but in a number of cases valuable reports have been issued as the result of careful and scientific research, more commonly where university specialists have been secured for the technical studies. Among these may be noted the reports of several tax commissions, of the Illinois Efficiency and Economy Committee (1915) and the New York Reconstruction Commission, and the publications prepared for the recent constitutional conventions in New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois.

The numerous permanent state offices, boards, and commissions collect and publish original data of varying value; and some of them have issued special reports of substantial value.

Municipal reference agencies of various kinds have been established in considerable number. In 1873 New York City established a small municipal library; and a more important collection of municipal publi-

²² See *American Political Science Review*, IV, 68; VI, 238; VIII, 238; IX, 748; X, 546; XII, 88; XIV, 277; XVI, 650.

²³ Since 1832, there have been 99 such special tax commissions: 11 before 1880, 27 from 1880 to 1900, and 61 since 1900,—39 of the latter since 1910. Seligman, *Essays in Taxation* (9th ed., 1922).

cations was begun by the New York Reform Club in 1897, and later transferred to Columbia University. The Boston statistics department was organized in 1897, the Chicago municipal library in 1900, the Baltimore legislative reference department in 1906, and the Milwaukee municipal reference library in 1908. In 1913, the Chicago library was reorganized, and a municipal reference library was established in New York. Since then municipal reference work has been organized in other cities,—in all about twenty. Sometimes this is a branch or a division of the public library (as in St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and Seattle); sometimes an agency of the city government (as in Kansas City, Mo., Buffalo, and San Francisco).

Besides such local agencies, municipal reference or information bureaus have been established by several state leagues of municipalities (California in 1898, New York and New Jersey in 1915), and by a number of universities (Wisconsin, Kansas in 1908, Harvard in 1910, Illinois, Minnesota and Texas in 1913, Washington, North Carolina, Cincinnati, Toledo, and Akron).²⁴ The state university bureaus cooperate with the state leagues of municipalities.

The financial resources of these municipal reference agencies are less than those of the legislative reference bureaus. Data from ten of the more important bureaus show total funds ranging from \$5000 to \$21,000,—the New York City and state agencies having the largest amounts. The limited resources restrict clearly their activities in all directions.

One of the regular functions of such agencies is the collection of official documents and other material on municipal government. The largest collections are those of the New York Public Library, and the New York Reform Club collection in Columbia University. Other important collections are those of Chicago and the University of Illinois.

These collections are used for informal reports on special problems for city officials, and in the university bureaus are used by students in connection with their studies. A number of bureaus have issued small periodical publications—such as *Pacific Municipalities*, *Illinois Municipal Review*, and *Municipal Reference Notes*. In some cases pamphlet reports on special subjects have been published, as by the Minnesota, Chicago, New Jersey, and Texas bureaus; and in other cases mimeographed bulletins are issued from time to time, as in Kansas. Prob-

²⁴ The scope of the Texas bureau has been extended and its name changed to the bureau of government research. The University of Minnesota has established a bureau of governmental research in addition to the municipal reference bureau.

ably the most important contribution to original research has been Munro's *Bibliography of Municipal Government*, prepared with the aid of the Harvard bureau.

From time to time there have also been special and temporary municipal commissions, both official and unofficial, some of which have made important research investigations and published valuable reports. Among them may be noted the Chicago commission on expenditures.

To summarize briefly the work of these legislative and municipal agencies: (1) As to methods, the more permanent agencies have given attention to the collection and classification of current and fugitive material; and both permanent and temporary agencies have made effective use of university specialists. (2) The scope of their work has been closely limited by the small financial support, except in the case of some of the temporary agencies, whose work has been limited as to time. (3) The published results have included (a) bibliographical data, such as indices and reference lists; (b) special pamphlet reports and bulletins and minor periodicals; and (c) a number of monographic studies of importance, mostly by special commissions.

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UNIVERSITY RESEARCH AND EQUIPMENT

The purpose of this part of the report was to inquire into the nature of research interests and particularly into the university and college facilities for research work in political science. A questionnaire was sent to most of the instructors in political science in the American colleges and universities and replies were received from nearly all instructors.

The character of research interests is indicated by the following tabulation of individual replies which indicates a wide range of inquiry in various fields of political science:

Elections; statutes; court decisions; party organization, methods and policies; international relations.

Political behavior from the standpoint of psychology.

International law and relations; administrative efficiency; government finance; bases of representation; industrial democracy; technique of public opinion; organization of electorate.

Administrative geography; population of the United States; actualities of types of government.

Actual operation of government.

Public administration; collection of political data; political theories.

National, state and municipal administration; comparative government; international relations.

Structural changes in European states since the war.

State and city government; international relations.

Distribution of power between national and local governments; state supervision over local administration and finance; division of tax resources between governmental agencies; citizen interest in government; administrative courts in the United States.

Political control over political behavior.

Municipal, state, international organization; party structure and methods; proportional representation; municipal efficiency; colonial government.

It will be observed that there are several main types of inquiry covered here. One relates to the description and analysis of the structure of governments; another relates to the actual operation of governments; another has to do with what might be called the psychology of the process of political control.

From these inquiries the following conclusions may be drawn as to equipment for research:

1. The time available for research is wholly inadequate in most institutions, owing to the heavy demands of class work and administrative duties of various types.

2. In most institutions there is neither stenographic nor clerical aid provided for research specialists.

3. There are practically no research assistants of the type that would be found in a laboratory or in a law office.

4. There are practically no allowances for field work in the form of actual observation of political experiments or other phenomena.

5. Special funds available for research work are extremely limited and found only in a few institutions.

6. Publication funds are found in some cases, but often are wholly lacking and frequently are very inadequate.

It may therefore be concluded that the time available for political research and the equipment for intensive inquiries is deplorably inadequate in view of the needs of scientific inquiry. The relatively small number of research men find themselves overburdened by teaching

duties and crippled by lack of facilities essential to the conducting of modern types of research in the field of government. Large funds have been made available in connection with bureaus of municipal research and various other foundations. These inquiries are conducted by university men in the main but are carried on outside of the university field. Unquestionably, the scientific study of the experiments in modern democracy justifies, in fact demands, far more elaborate equipment than has thus far been available for fundamental inquiries into the processes of government. There is no phase of human life more important than the political process and yet in scarcely any field is the equipment for scientific research so notably deficient.

It is therefore recommended:

1. That larger opportunity in the way of time be provided for students of government in order to carry on inquiries of a fundamental nature.
2. That adequate stenographic and clerical service and research assistants be provided so that the specialist in political science may at least have the equipment of a modern law or business office.
3. That larger funds for field work and other special researches be provided.
4. That adequate provision be made for the publication of results of scientific research of a type that do not possess immediate commercial value.
5. That concerted and persistent effort be made to present the necessities of political science to the appropriate university authorities and to the general public.

With a view of illustrating types of inquiry the committee is drawing up outlines of proposed investigations in the following fields:

The nature and characteristics of political propaganda.

An analysis of the rôle of organized groupings in the government of a given community.

The intensive study of the data upon which popular judgments are now formed in a given community.

A survey of political statistics.

The relation between political platforms, governors' messages, and legislative output.

Some phases of political geography.

An analysis of the qualities of effective citizenship with reference to specific tests of such qualities.

An analysis of the qualities and characteristics of non-voting.
A study of the practical working of the direct primary system.

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University of Chicago.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee on Political Research recommends:

I. The establishment of a Social Science Research Council consisting of two members each from Economics, Sociology, Political Science, and History for the purpose of—

- (a) The development of research in the social studies.
- (b) The establishment of a central clearing house for projects of social investigation.
- (c) The encouragement of the establishment of institutes for social science study with funds adequate for the execution of various research projects and publications in the various fields of science.
- (d) Suggestions to various governmental authorities regarding the statistics collected in the field of social investigation.
- (e) The teaching of social science in American colleges and universities.
- (f) Any other ways and means of encouraging the development of the scientific study of politics.

II. The establishment of a permanent committee on political research for the purpose of encouraging the growth of scientific investigation in the field of government.

III. A quadrennial survey of significant advances in political science at appropriate sessions of the American Political Science Association.

IV. Coöperation with special institutes and agencies for field work by professional students of government during the summer months or at other times during the year.

V. The holding of an annual institute of political science for detailed consideration of political methods and for the detailed examination of a few selected topics in the field of government.

VI. Concerted and persistent effort to bring to the attention of university authorities and the public the need of larger numbers of professional students of government with larger time and facilities for scientific work.

VII. Further study of the problems of—

- (a) More adequate reporting and digesting of governmental actions.

(b) More adequate reporting of the practical operation of governmental experiments by trained observers.

(c) The development of more scientific methods of arriving at definite political conclusions.

VIII. Your committee urges that every effort be made to bring about the closest coöperation between students of politics and the other branches of social science, and also with the students of psychology, anthropology, geography, biological sciences, and engineering, to the end that the new political science may avail itself of all of the results of modern thought in the attempt to work out scientific methods of political control.

This section sums up the results of the committee's work in considering the ways and means by which the quality and quantity of political research might be improved. Some of these recommendations are very general and others are more specific.

The first recommendation—for the establishment of a research council—was approved by the American Political Science Association and a similar resolution was passed by the American Economic Association and the American Sociological Society. The first meeting of the representatives of the various associations to consider this question was held on February 24, 1923.

The second recommendation for the establishment of a permanent committee on political research has been approved by the Council and the American Political Science Association. Last year's committee was continued with the addition of Professor Holcombe of Harvard.

The fifth recommendation for the holding of an annual institute of political science was not officially acted upon, but informal action has been taken and definite plans are under way for the holding of such an institute some time during the summer vacation of 1923. Professor Arnold B. Hall of the University of Wisconsin is chairman of the informal committee in charge of this undertaking.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM,
ROBERT T. CRANE,
JOHN A. FAIRLIE,
CLYDE L. KING.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY W. B. MUNRO

Harvard University

Public Opinion in War and Peace. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1923. Pp. xii, 304.)

The civilized world is now committed to the experiment of political rule dictated and controlled by the will and judgment of the governed. All forms of political organization being but means to an end, but instrumentalities for obtaining certain results, it is evident that the proposition has been accepted that the politically ruled are best qualified to form a just opinion regarding their own interests, or, at any rate, that they alone may be trusted to seek those interests. This being of the essence of popular government, whether in its directly democratic or representative form, the problem of securing satisfactory political rule involves the attainment of three results: the formulation of an intelligent public opinion; the securing of its authentic expression; and the creation of constitutional provisions, understandings, or conventions whereby this opinion, thus formulated and authentically expressed, may be made controlling upon those in public authority. The problem of qualifying a people to form an intelligent public opinion is, of course, an educational one, using that word in its broadest sense. The problem of making that opinion controlling upon those vested with authority, is a constitutional one. There remains what is, perhaps, the still more difficult task, if the problem of popular government is to be satisfactorily solved, of providing opportunities and instrumentalities whereby peoples can authentically express their wishes or judgments.

In an earlier work, published in 1914, entitled *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, President Lowell considered the nature of public opinion, and the means by which it might be expressed. That discussion was a substantial contribution to political thought by reason of the acuteness with which the subject was analyzed, and the clearness with which were exhibited the difficulties that beset the achievement of true popular rule. Walter Lippman in his *Public Opinion*, which appeared in

1922, further emphasized these difficulties, to such an extent as to make one question whether, under any conditions practically obtainable, it is possible to secure an intelligent public opinion regarding most of the matters with which governments have to deal. In the volume under review, President Lowell has made a fresh inquiry of the problem in the light of the abnormal conditions, which, since 1914, have prevailed in the world, and especially in the United States, Great Britain, and France.

In this new study President Lowell devotes considerably more attention than he had done in his earlier work to the purely psychological aspects of the question, to the factors of imitation, suggestion, the emotions and sentiments, intellectual judgments, and the so-called group mind. Especially interesting and illuminating is the emphasis he lays upon the necessity, both within and without deliberative or legislative bodies, of clearly presenting to the people for selection single pairs of alternatives. The doing of this he conceives to be the true function of political parties. The results reached by the direct primary he declares to have been distinctly unsatisfactory, and necessarily so because the device is based upon a wrong principle. Space will not permit a further presentation of the conclusions reached, but it may be said generally, as might have been expected, that President Lowell has made a substantial contribution to the literature of his topic. The subject of popular opinion as applied to matters political is one that does not lend itself to definite treatment. It will always furnish opportunity for useful analyses and conclusions from those, like President Lowell, who, in addition to wide knowledge, have a clear conception of the art and science of government.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Essays on Constitutional Law and Equity and Other Subjects. By HENRY SCHOFIELD. (Boston: Chipman Law Publishing Company. 1921. Two volumes. Pp. xxiv, 456; viii, 550.)

The author of these volumes was for seventeen years a member of the faculty of the Northwestern University Law School. Before his death in 1918 his colleagues, without his knowledge, had begun the task of assembling his various writings; and the book was finally published as a memorial. Two brief forewords give an adequate explanation of the nature and purpose of the volumes, as well as a delightful appreciative sketch of the author.

About three-fourths of the content of the volumes deals with problems in constitutional law. Even in this field Professor Schofield's interests lay in the main in problems of procedure rather than in the broader questions of substantive constitutional law. His ninety page paper on jury trials and the Seventh Amendment, for example, deals with the question whether the federal constitutional guarantees of jury trial in civil cases prevent the circuit court of appeals from entering a final judgment contrary to the findings of a trial jury, or whether the appellate court must in such an instance remand the case to the lower court for a new trial. And yet in spite of the narrowly technical nature of many of these essays it is clear that Professor Schofield had a definite philosophy of constitutional law as well as a knowledge of its many phases which was both broad and deep.

Professor Schofield was the exponent of the doctrine of the broadest possible construction of the judicial power of the United States. His views upon this point, as set forth in the first half of Volume I, are distinctly radical. He advances the view in the first essay that the Fourteenth Amendment gives to the Supreme Court of the United States the authority to review the judgment of a state court involving private rights which depend entirely upon state law, in order to determine whether the state court has reached its decision in accordance with the existing established law of the state; and in so doing the Supreme Court must decide for itself what the law of the state is. Says Professor Schofield: "No one would think, I suppose, that State Judges can hang a man under an information, when the State law says they must proceed under an indictment. Yet it appears to be thought that when they get hold of a man under an indictment, whatever they may do then with the substantive law of the State must stand uncorrectable by any earthly judicial tribunal" (I, 34, note). His theory is that the Supreme Court can, under due process of law, correct errors of state law in the state courts provided those errors are sufficiently gross, a proviso which would probably tend to save the Supreme Court from being entirely inundated by the flood of cases which would come up under such a rule.

A second essay of this group is devoted to a defense of Story's much criticized doctrine in *Swift v. Tyson*, 16 Peters 1, that when the federal courts upon the ground of diversity of citizenship exercise jurisdiction in controversies grounded in state law they are not bound by the decisions of the state courts construing the state law, but are free to reach their own conclusions with respect to such law. Section 34 of the Judiciary

Act of 1789 provides: "The laws of the several states, except where the constitution shall otherwise require or provide, shall be regarded as rules of decision in trials at common law, in the courts of the United States, in cases where they apply." *Swift v. Tyson* held in substance that decisions of the state courts were not "laws" within the meaning of this clause, and were not therefore binding upon the federal courts. This doctrine, adhered to by the Supreme Court in certain types of cases, but much criticized by the profession at large, is strongly supported by Professor Schofield. He urges that when the Constitution states that "the judicial power shall extend . . . to controversies . . . between citizens of different states" it means judicial power in the fullest and most complete sense; or, to use his own words, "an equal, complete, original, and independent judicial power to declare or make the state law that rules the controversy in hand, using the same sources that a state court properly could use (p. 45)." If the exercise of this jurisdiction should result in a dual system of law governing the same legal subject matter, one law enforced by the state courts and another enforced by the federal courts, the situation is still not irremediable. In fact, two remedies exist. One is the enactment of a statute (clearly a "law" within the meaning of the section of the Judiciary Act quoted above) by the state legislature which would be binding upon the federal courts. The other is the enforcement of the second section of Article VI of the Constitution which declares the "laws of the United States" to be the "supreme law of the land" which must be applied by the courts of the states. Decisions of the federal courts in these cases are, in Professor Schofield's view, "laws of the United States;" and any citizen in a state who was denied the benefit of their application would have redress under Article IV, Section 2, guaranteeing to the citizens of the states the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several states. If this rule is not adhered to, then all attempts to secure uniform legislation amongst the several states will be defeated by the failure to secure uniform judicial construction of it in the different states. Professor Schofield's argument is convincing except for the fact that it is hard to see why, if state judicial decisions are not "laws" within the meaning of the Federal Judiciary Act, federal judicial decisions can be regarded as "laws of the United States" within the meaning of Article VI, Section 2.

An interesting paper on "Freedom of Press in the United States" is replete with valuable historical data and argues for a much higher degree of freedom of expression than received legislative recognition during the late war.

A word should be added respecting the literary quality of these essays. Style is likely to be conditioned by the circumstances under which a paper is written as well as by the character of the reading public which the author is trying to reach. These essays were written to be read primarily by men who were professionally interested in the decisions which they discuss. They are by no means light reading. They abound in long, involved sentences frequently of half a page or more; and Professor Schofield would surely have fared ill at the hands of Mark Twain, who demanded the death penalty for all users of the parenthesis, the "re-parenthesis," and the "re-re-parenthesis," and insisted that every person should be required "to unfold a plain, straightforward tale, or else coil it and sit on it and hold his peace." And yet in spite of these stylistic limitations there is a complete and permeating lucidity in Professor Schofield's writing which must ever mark the product of a keen mind working with precision and definiteness; and while the argument is close, the task of following it is amply rewarded by the exhilaration of being swept irresistibly along by the cogency of the reasoning. Furthermore, the author has done much more than discuss technical questions in technical language; he has presented them against a background of broad learning in history, philosophy, and literature which gives them interest even in the eyes of the layman. The penalty of not following Professor Schofield closely is not merely the loss of the thread of his argument, but also the risk of passing over some choice epigram, or some delightful bit of irony, or some fragment of homely wisdom, any one of which may rise up unexpectedly in the midst of the most desolate passages. The reading of these volumes will make one grateful to those who have made them available, and at the same time will cause one to regret that Professor Schofield could not have written a comprehensive treatise on constitutional law.

ROBERT EUGENE CUSHMAN.

University of Minnesota.

The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations: 1897-1909. By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., Litt.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. x, 418.)

Under Four Administrations: from Cleveland to Taft. Recollections of OSCAR S. STRAUS, Litt.D., LL.D., Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, three times

Minister and Ambassador to Turkey, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 456.)

Mr. Rhodes' *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations* more resembles excellent raw material for a volume on the period 1897-1909 than it does a finished product. The narrative lacks cohesiveness, the transitions are abrupt and confusing, and the number of quotations is uncommonly large. The lack of cohesiveness appears, for example, in the account of the anti-trust activities of President Roosevelt. The several events in this series of acts, such as the coal strike settlement, the anti-trust legislation of 1903, the Hepburn Act, etc., appear as separate episodes rather than as parts of a connected whole.

Quotations large and small appear on almost every page. Sometimes they impede the flow of the narrative, as on p. 170 where some humorous remarks of Mr. Dooley on the electrical display at the Buffalo Exposition are placed in the midst of the account of McKinley's fatal visit to Buffalo. In other places (pp. 178, 238, 244, and others), phrases and sentences are quoted which have no significance and could much better have been put in the author's own words. More important are such cases as appear on pp. 344-353, 353-363, 364-366, 369-377, and 378-388. One of these cases is an account of the panic of 1907 consisting of approximately two hundred and seventy-eight lines, of which one hundred and twelve are quotations; one is an account of our relations with Cuba in 1906, in seventy-four lines of which fifty-five are quotations; another concerns the election of 1908 and is composed of ten and a half pages, of which seven and one-half are taken up with a letter from Roosevelt to Sir George Otto Trevelyan on the subject.

Another surprising defect (to have done with adverse criticism) is the account of the election of 1896. The author's final judgment is a quotation from Goldwin Smith which describes the controlling elements in the Democratic party as those of "Anarchism and Repudiation" and defines Bryanism as "A vast cave of Adullam, in which are combined all the distressed, all the discontented, all who have nothing to lose and may hope to gain by a general over-turn" (p. 28). This is surprisingly superficial in these days when we have seen so much of the Bryan platform of 1896 put into operation by both great parties.

In this connection there is a degree of truth worth pondering upon in a story which Mr. Straus tells about himself (*Under Four Administrations*, p. 242). Mr. Straus had been a Cleveland Democrat before 1896,

but supported McKinley in that year and later was in Roosevelt's cabinet. Some of his friends chided him with having changed his party. "It was true, I said, that I had been, as it were, on both sides of the fence, but that was not my fault; the fence had been moved."

On the other hand the most valuable portions of Mr. Rhodes' book are those in which the author supplements what has already been known by his own personal contacts with the men of the period, especially President Roosevelt and Mark Hanna. Chapter X on the Panama Canal and Chapter XI on the relations between Roosevelt and Hanna are strong chapters. A particular point of interest is the statement which Roosevelt made to Mr. Rhodes that he had made a mistake in inviting Booker Washington to dinner.

Mr. Straus has produced a substantial biography. It is without flourishes or dramatic events, but holds the attention. Naturally it is of most interest to the student of international law and diplomatic relations. The strongest chapters (IV, VI, and XI) are accounts of the problems which he met as minister and ambassador to Turkey (1887, 1898, and 1909). These chapters give a quiet but convincing picture of the difficulties in dealing with Turkish problems and of the methods and qualities which brought success. The chapter on the Department of Commerce and Labor is excellent and all too short.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

Dartmouth College.

From Harrison to Harding, 1888-1920. By ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1922. Two volumes. Pp. 420; 444.)

This is a personal narrative of a journalist's observations on American party leaders and political life for a third of a century. It is written by an experienced and intelligent newspaper correspondent who has observed at close range the men and measures whose career he reveals. It is a racy, lively account of many interesting personal and political matters that have come under Mr. Dunn's own eyes, a summary of the political events which it has been his duty as a journalist to record as they have occurred.

Mr. Dunn has known personally all the presidents of this period, some of them intimately, as well as most of the other public men of importance and prominence. He writes of them with sincerity and integrity of purpose and with a manifest desire to estimate them fairly

and to tell the truth as he sees it. He brings before us the party conventions and the political campaigns of the period, giving his readers a nearby view not only of all the presidents, but of the leading senators and representatives, and the notable congressional struggles in which they were engaged. Party managers and influences that determined nominations and controlled elections are presented. Mark Hanna, Matt Quay, Champ Clark, Tom Reed, Tillman, Aldrich, Penrose, Bryan, Hughes, House, Tumulty, Cannon, Hays, Hearst, Barnes,—all the worthies and unworthies are delineated as they appear upon the stage.

We would not resort to Mr. Dunn's volumes for judicious history. It has been his business to have a scent for "news." His pen has been employed with the men and events that have been in the public eye. Underlying causes at home, in the "hinterland" or in the "out townships," the forces behind public men and events, have often escaped him. But while it is true that one cannot write nor understand the political history of the times by merely watching and recording what goes on at Washington and in the great political conventions, either behind the scenes or in the open, nor by personal contact with party leaders and public men, yet such volumes have historical uses. To the historical student of recent times they are of decided value as a source of much inside personal information on men and events not readily found in such accessible form.

These volumes are not neutral. They have color,—the color of the author's likes and dislikes, of his political partialities and leanings, and darker colors of dogmatic censure or over-statement: "A more partisan President than Woodrow Wilson never occupied the White House." "The Adamson Law was the most stupendous hold-up in the legislative history of the country." "In a long period of political observation I have never known a case of political treachery equal to or even approaching that of William J. Bryan toward Champ Clark at Baltimore in 1912."

Not only is Mr. Dunn free with his opinions and characterizations but he contributes many inside personal stories that are rich and juicy. For instance, when Mr. Cleveland was urged by financial magnates to call Congress into extra session to effect the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act (1893) he blurted out, "Who can tell what the damned scoundrels will do when we get them here?" When assured that there was a safe majority in the House, Cleveland said, "Well, I can take care of the Senate; they are a lot of damned old patronage brokers." Then how

Cleveland bought enough free silver Democrats in the Senate by a skilful use of patronage is naïvely told, or taken for granted, in Mr. Dunn's pages. Such things come from the close-up view of honest newspaper reporters who tell what they hear, or, at least, some of it.

Will the historians ever put on record (as they ought, if such things are true) how these patriotic influences "saved the country" for "sound money" against silver repudiation in those Populist days? Such is the base metal of practical politics, such the real story of statesmen who to the popular eye are of noble and heroic mold, as Mr. Dunn's personal testimony tends to reveal them.

Along with much of interest and value in these pages one finds, in addition to such stories, many assumptions and much of unquestioning assent to orthodox and conventional opinion, indicating, to a degree, the mind of a standardized routineer who has little knowledge or appreciation of the pioneer thought and forces that have always been back of the political progress of the country.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Indiana University.

The Agricultural Bloc. By ARTHUR CAPPER, U. S. Senator from Kansas, with an Introduction by KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. 1922. Pp. vii, 171.)

This is a little book telling what the agricultural bloc is, when and why it was formed, and what it is trying to do. Senator Capper names the twelve senators who formed the bloc and the twelve who joined it later, a group making nearly a third of the Senate. He presents in brief chapters the crisis in agriculture, the depression after the war, the difficulties in farm finance, marketing, and transportation, and the need for government intervention and protection. The program of the bloc, its record in Congress, and the public attitude towards its plans are other phases of his subject which the author brings into notice. Senator Capper represents a farming state. For four years he was governor of Kansas. He has been a practical farmer. When Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, retired from the Senate, Senator Capper succeeded him to the leadership of this agricultural bloc. Capper is the editor of agricultural papers that come weekly to more farm firesides than any other publications of their kind. He is, therefore, well qualified to speak on his subject.

Senator Capper disclaims radicalism or the presence of any dangerous proclivities among his colleagues of the bloc. But he feels deeply that the American people should come to an understanding of the farmers' condition and problems and he believes they are far from doing so. This agrarian unrest is not merely a temporary incident following, as always, in the wake of war, as many seem to believe. That is a superficial view. The deeper causes should be sought. Senator Capper adduces some illustrative and forceful facts.

In 1919 a Kansas farmer could buy five gallons of gasoline with a bushel of corn; a year later his bushel of corn would buy only one gallon. In 1919 a ton of coal cost the farmer six bushels of corn; a year later the coal cost him forty bushels of corn, and two years later sixty bushels. Likewise within these two short years the farmer passed from the prosperity of buying a \$60.00 suit of clothes with forty bushels of corn to the hardship of having to fork over three hundred bushels for the same suit. If Jeshurun kicked while waxing fat, is it any wonder that our farmer friends are registering a mighty kick at the polls while waxing so lean?

Such facts indicate the nature and extent of farming depression. This depression, in the opinion of Senator Capper, has been a calamity. It affects not only the farmer but the nation at large, because when the farmer's buying capacity wanes, general prosperity wanes also. So all classes are interested in the problems of the farm. If the western farmer cannot sell his products for the cost of production, if he has to burn his corn for fuel while millions go hungry, and if he has to pay about as high as ever for what he buys, political turnings and overturnings may be expected in agricultural states. Senator Capper's little book helps to account for the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota.

The senator urges reform in farm finance. The high cost of money for agriculture has been the cause of increasing difficulties. He believes the farmers were "deflated" too hard and too fast. He reviews the findings of the joint committee of agricultural inquiry, which shows that the policy of the Federal Reserve Board in restricting loans in agricultural regions by raising the discount rates to country banks was a serious and unnecessary hardship to agricultural producers.

As to a program, the bloc will go in for amendment to the Federal Reserve Act, for better commodity financing, more extensive and accommodating rural credits, coöperative marketing, readjustment of freight rates, packer control, the regulation of future trading in grain, and for miscellaneous measures making for rural betterment. If one

wishes to find in brief space the farmers' case, setting forth his wants and complaints, this little book will supply his need.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Indiana University.

The Life and Public Services of Charles Joseph Bonaparte. By JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1922. Pp. 304.)

This book is of more than common interest. It contains the romantic account of Bonaparte's ancestry, his fight for good government in Maryland and for high standards in national politics, his early association with Roosevelt, his experience as secretary of the navy and attorney general under Roosevelt, some of the humors of his official life, his attitude on the World War and the League of Nations, his religion as a Roman Catholic and its harmony with American citizenship, his own marriage, and as a final touch an account of Mr. Bishop's interviews with the old servants who had been from thirty to forty years in the family. All this is told in a most readable fashion.

The school and college life of our Bonaparte is less sensational than that of his romantic ancestors, because of his studious and quiet habits. He did not belong to the "Med Fac," or light bonfires in the college yard. In his senior year he rebelled against the intrigues of class politics. This was the beginning of his long career of warfare against immorality, graft, and "spoils" in American government—national, state, and municipal—which ended in Maryland in a complete victory and a general purification through civil service reform.

Most interesting of all in Bonaparte's career were his successful contests, under the leadership of Roosevelt, against the big, selfish interests which had come to dominate the country. While he was attorney general the representatives of those interests boldly threatened him with attacks in the press if he would not lessen his activities. The threat was carried out in a humorous way, but it disturbed neither Bonaparte nor Roosevelt. Objecting as they did to Bonaparte's activities, it was a bit of "*opera bouffe*" to charge him with neglecting his public duties; and they tried to make him out as unacceptable to Roosevelt and to stir up ill feeling between Bonaparte and his great leader. The *Life* describes a state of the press which was more subservient to financial interests than at any time before or since. The great fight ended not only in the submission of the big, selfish interests, but in emancipating the press from their absolute bondage.

The only criticism to be made is that in the account of the great romance of Bonaparte's grandmother, Elizabeth Patterson, the reader, carried on in a train of thought, has now and then to back to the last switch to be sure that he is on the right track. Bishop always proves to be correct, but a little repetition of personal names in place of pronouns, and a distinction between "Prince" Jerome and his son Jerome, would have enabled the reader to keep straightforward on his journey without these delays; but perhaps, on the whole, it is just as well to re-read a good deal of this romantic episode to fix these details more clearly in the mind.

The book has admirable illustrations, and one drops it with regret when one comes to the last page.

RICHARD H. DANA.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

State Government. By WALTER F. DODD. (New York: The Century Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 578.)

This is the most important treatise dealing solely with state government since the publication of Professor Holcombe's book in 1916. It is, however, more inclusive than Professor Holcombe's book, in that it includes chapters on local government wherein are discussed the governmental organization of counties, townships, and cities, and the problems arising in their relation to the state government. This treatise has all the excellencies of the author's experience; painstaking research, practical experience in attempting to apply the principles discussed to actual political institutions, and the legal point of view of a practicing lawyer. Thus chapters on the reorganization of the state executive and the chapters on the state courts, present detailed research and constructive criticism of these institutions. The chapter on "Direct Legislation" is one of the best, brief expositions of the present working and possible dangers and necessary limitations of the institutions established for that purpose.

As a treatise for advanced students, this book fills a place hitherto unoccupied since 1916. It differs, however, from some of the other books in the Century Political Science Series in plan, material presented, and style. It frankly recognizes the impossibility, when dealing with forty-eight different states, of giving all the information concerning all the political institutions discussed. It may be questioned, however whether the author has not reduced the descriptive portion too far,

and it may be doubted whether the rather brief chapter on the "Conduct of Elections" gives sufficient information concerning the ballot and the machinery of politics. This same criticism might apply to the treatment of other topics, but in all cases it is partially met by a wisely selected list of references to more extended treatises or special monographs and articles. Too great praise can not be given to the author in this choice of supplementary matter, for instead of publishing lengthy lists of all possible material a careful selection has been made and critical references given to only the most significant. No criticism can be made against the book in that it utilizes Massachusetts or New York too frequently for illustrations; in fact where other authors have referred to the states of the Atlantic seaboard, the present writer draws his illustrations more generally from the middle western states.

As a treatise and a text for advanced classes studying simply state government, the book is one of the outstanding contributions in recent years and should be eagerly welcomed.

EVERETT KIMBALL.

Smith College.

American Railroads: Government Control and Reconstruction Policies. By WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM. (Chicago: A. W. Shaw Company. 1922. Pp. 409.)

Railroads: Rates, Service, Management. By HOMER B. VANDERBLUE and KENNETH F. BURGESS. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xv, 488.)

Professor Cunningham has placed all students of transportation problems under obligation by gathering together his articles on various phases of railroad war control and weaving them into a connected narrative. His practical experience as an operating officer, his participation in the administration of war-time operation, his grasp of railway problems—the fruit of his long experience, his sane and courageous judgment, all combine to equip him ideally for this task. It is a safe prophecy that for a brief treatment of the experience of the government with railroad management this book will be recognized as the authority. At the end are four chapters covering the Transportation Act of 1920 and the critical events of the last three years.

In a summary review it is impossible even to state the position of the author on the many controversial issues of the war period. In general it may be said that his conclusions are in agreement with those

students of the problem who have examined the evidence without preconceived bias or interest. The taking over of the roads is held to be a wise and necessary step. The railroad administration is in general commended for its accomplishments, and its failures are recognized as largely the inevitable accompaniment of a critical emergency.

It should be particularly noted that Professor Cunningham concludes—a conclusion that cannot be too often or insistently emphasized in the face of irresponsible propaganda—that the period of war operation was too abnormal to be of any value as a guide to what might be expected from government operation in peace times.

Railroads: Rates, Service, Management, the joint product of an able and experienced student of transportation problems and an attorney of wide experience in interstate commerce law, is an unusually valuable contribution to the literature of the railroad question. It is essentially a book for those who are interested in the technical and legal side of regulation procedure, covering the agencies of regulation, and their rules of practice, and the present day problems of rates, service and management interpreted in the light of the Transportation Act of 1920. It is far superior to the average legal text-book in that its legal discussion is illuminated by introduction of economic considerations, and supplemented by reference to many of the unsettled problems. The wealth and aptness of its illustrative material, its abundant documentation, its keen analysis and its well-balanced judgment on controverted questions commend it to student and practical man alike.

But for the lack of space, the reviewer would be tempted into a discussion of the many interesting points raised in the latter book. As it is, he is obliged to be content with a mere reference to a point or two of special interest to academic students of the transportation problem. The authors do not look with particular favor upon the "capture" clause which compels a carrier to divide the excess of earnings over 6 per cent with the government. They characterize it as an application of the doctrine of Henry George—a taking of an unearned increment from one class of owners in the community while leaving others free from interference. Moreover, they intimate that judicial genius will be called for if the Supreme Court is to square this provision with the Fifth Amendment.

A chapter on valuation expresses the view which Professor Vanderblue has made familiar through his more extended treatment elsewhere. Figures of final value are worthless if sought as an end in themselves.

Their usefulness consists in providing a rough measure for a fair rate of return, a position with which most students of the problem would agree. A discussion of consolidation brings out the important consideration that one of the great problems involved is human and not merely mechanical, the essential need for leadership and the scarcity of men competent to handle efficiently these immense units that will be erected. The authors evidently feel that voluntary consolidation will proceed only so far as the plan of the commission coincides with a natural tendency. And compulsory consolidation involves fundamental constitutional difficulties which may possibly be disposed of only through government guarantee or ownership.

FRANK HAIGH DIXON.

Princeton University.

The Laws of the Earliest English Kings. By F. L. ATTENBOROUGH.
(Cambridge, England: The University Press. 1922. Pp. xii, 256.)

The principal purpose served by this book is to make readily accessible to a larger number of students a first-hand acquaintance with the extant laws issued by the Anglo-Saxon kings from Ethelbert to Ethelstan. Although Liebermann has supplied a text of the Anglo-Saxon laws which is probably definitive, his work is of such size and cost, that it cannot easily be placed in the hands of students as a text, nor can the average student of English history, who is not a specialist in the Anglo-Saxon period, afford to have it on the shelves of his library. The moderate scope and price of the present volume obviate these difficulties.

Mr. Attenborough has constructed his text from the original manuscripts, availing himself of the light thrown upon them by Liebermann's researches. He takes as the basis of his text of each set of laws the manuscript which he deems best, his judgment on this point usually coinciding with Liebermann's. The variants he records "as a rule only when the sense is affected," and the critical apparatus in general he reduces to a minimum. It is generally sufficient for the needs of an amateur in the field, though brevity occasionally leads to obscurity. Variants from Hickes are introduced, for example, without any bibliographical reference and without any statement of the reasons for the inclusion of his variants. Such lapses, however, are few. The text may be said to fulfill the editor's purpose, if that was to provide a trustworthy version less complicated by critical apparatus than Liebermann's (p. v).

The translation, with the accompanying notes explanatory of the interpretations adopted, is the most valuable part of the work. Thorpe's translation was based on a text less perfect than Liebermann's, and it left many critical words untranslated. Liebermann's translation is in German. It was eminently desirable that there should be an English translation based on the improved text. So far as the sense alone is concerned Attenborough's translation does not generally depart far from Liebermann's. Nevertheless it contains a considerable number of significant differences. The divergences are generally defended in the notes, and these explanations constitute a small but worthy addition to our knowledge of the meaning of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

W. E. LUNT.

Haverford College.

Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By GEORGE EARL BUCKLE. Vols. V and VI. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 558; 712.)

Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury. By LADY GWENDOLEN CECIL. Vols. I and II. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. viii, 353; 390.)

These four substantial volumes, covering parts of the active careers of two British political leaders of the later nineteenth century, deal with many matters of more than historical interest. They throw light on the working of British politics; they invite comparisons not only of the two leaders of the Conservative party, but also of both with Gladstone, the rival and contemporary leader of the Liberal party; and they discuss an international crisis which has close relations to events of the recent past and the present day.

In the two concluding volumes of what is probably the most extensive biography published, Mr. Buckle covers the years from 1868 to 1881, the climax of Disraeli's career. Large use is made of his voluminous correspondence with Queen Victoria, and also with the sisters Lady Selina Bradford and Lady Anne Chesterfield. The events of his administration from 1874 to 1880, and especially those relating to affairs in the Near East, are discussed at length.

Of Disraeli and Gladstone it is noted that, "Each admired and respected the great parliamentary qualities of his rival; but Gladstone's respect was combined with an alloy of deep moral disapprobation." Disraeli, on his part, ever referred to Gladstone as a cumbrous writer;

and on another occasion, in the excitement of debate, spoke of him, in language which Buckle recognizes as lacking in dignity, as "a sophistical rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity."

In his relations with Queen Victoria, Disraeli's methods were very different from those of Gladstone and other prime ministers. "He kept his royal mistress constantly informed of the direction his own thoughts were taking in regard to current politics, and sought her opinion before decisions were come to in Cabinet. He kept her also informed of the disposition and tendencies of the Cabinet as a whole, and even of individual members of it in particular." But he did not worry her with the tedious detail of controversial business. He was her only minister since Melbourne who always bore in mind that she was a woman as well as a Queen.

Of Disraeli's character, Buckle quotes from notes of Mr. Money-penny, the author of the earlier volumes, that "mystery was of the essence of the man. . . . Disraeli's place is not among the greatest of all. . . . But he remains a unique and fascinating figure with a certain grandeur of his own." In Buckle's own concluding statement, "Disraeli appears a grand and magnificent figure, towering above his contemporaries; the man of fervid imagination and vision wide and deep, amid a nation of narrow practical mind, philistine, Puritan-ridden; his life at once a romance and a tragedy, but a splendid tragedy; himself the greatest of our statesmen since the days of Chatham and Pitt."

Lord Salisbury has not, like Disraeli, been usually associated with feminine influences, and it is therefore, perhaps, the more significant of the increasing recognition of women in public life that his is the first extensive biography written by a woman, and that in tracing his ancestral connections, Lady Cecil finds the evidence of hereditary influence on her father's success more on the maternal side in recent generations than from the distant paternal ancestor of Queen Elizabeth's time.

The first two volumes now published cover the earlier period of Salisbury's career to 1880, and the second volume deals with the same years as the last two volumes of Disraeli's biography. In the first volume, the most important political matters discussed are the journalistic activities of the future prime minister, and his bitter attacks on Disraeli's leadership of the Conservative party during the 60's, which stands in marked contrast with the close harmony between the two which prevailed in connection with the events leading to and including the Congress of Berlin. It is one of the curious ironies of history,

that the democratic changes which he so strongly opposed, seem to have prepared the way for Lord Salisbury's later success as a political leader.

Lady Cecil's account of the problems of the Near East naturally emphasize her father's share; and give the impression that Salisbury played a larger part than is indicated in Disraeli's biography. But both accounts indicate that the two British statesmen were in substantial agreement on the general policy and in working out its application. Curiously, there is no indication that Salisbury took any active part in the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, though this action closely affected interests then under his supervision as Secretary of State for India.

In the events connected with the Russo-Turkish war and the Congress of Berlin, Salisbury seems clearly to have already departed from the Palmerstonian pro-Turkish policy, without becoming as pro-Russian as Gladstone. While some writers have traced recent difficulties in the Near East to the Congress of Berlin, Lady Cecil finds this congress a success in meeting the situation of the time without war, though recognizing that the particular divisions then reached were not final.

JOHN A. FAIRLIE.

University of Illinois.

The Development of the British Empire. By HOWARD ROBINSON.
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 475.)

This is a somewhat tantalizing volume in the largely unconscious combination of strong and weak features which it presents. Its object is declared to be "to describe, from a detached point of view, the story of the growth of Greater Britain." When such a wide and varied field is to be covered within a single volume of some five hundred pages, the task, of necessity, must be accomplished without going into much detail. The justification for attempting to bring together, in one volume, a survey of the whole British Empire, should lie in the advantage of finding considerable additional light thrown on the relations of the different parts to each other, which could not be expected in separate histories of the different sections. In this, however, one is rather disappointed. The different sections of the empire are, for the most part, treated in separate chapters, in which there is scarcely a reference to any other, although, of course, each is related more or less to the mother country.

With reference to the detached point of view from which the book claims to be written, one gladly pays tribute to the spirit of fairness and impartiality with which the author has treated every part of the empire, with its relations to the mother country, on the one hand, and to adjoining foreign countries, on the other, notably in the case of the relations of Canada with the United States. The balance is not so well maintained, however, in the treatment of the domestic issues within the different sections of the empire. Nor is this a matter for surprise, or ground for doubting the impartiality of the author. It is obviously incidental to the preparation of such a work by one who is not personally familiar with any part of the empire and who derives his materials almost entirely from secondary sources, and these sources not always the best available. It is impossible in a brief review to go into particulars, but one may cite a couple of important and rather typical instances in the section on Canada. Such an eminently important figure as Sir Francis Hincks, in his connection with Canadian political life in the development and subsequent working of responsible government, and his connection with Canadian economic life in the framing of the first national railroad policy, and securing much of its practical achievement, and in determining the whole trend of Canadian finance and banking, is not once mentioned in the volume. On the other hand Sir John Macdonald is frequently mentioned. Yet, as a criticism at once of the sources from which the references to him are taken, and of the bibliographies appended to the various chapters, the standard life of Sir John Macdonald by Sir Joseph Pope is entirely ignored, as are also the chief published documentary sources relating to confederation.

There are interspersed throughout the work a number of very serviceable outline maps. That of the railroad systems of Canada (p. 402), is liable to be somewhat misleading, as including under the "trans-continental Railway," from Vancouver to Halifax, sections of the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk, and the Intercolonial railways. One cannot but regret these imperfections in a work the preparation of which exhibits so admirable a spirit of fairness in its freedom from personal or national bias, and which certainly indicates the application of much conscientious industry.

ADAM SHORTT.

Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

Cross Currents in Europe Today. By CHARLES A. BEARD.
(Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 1922. Pp. 278.)

In these few pages are presented what the writer terms "a collection of notes pertinent, I hope, to the great case of Mankind *vs.* Chaos." The first group of these "notes" is a summary of recent disclosures in regard to European diplomacy in the years preceding the war. Capably as this subject is handled, the effect of its treatment is somewhat one-sided, owing mainly to the fact that the most damaging revelations—thanks to the indiscretion of the present Russian government—have been of the diplomacy of the Triple Entente. The discreditable story of these secret "undertstandings" and "conversations" is balanced by no correspondingly full treatment of the policy of the Central Powers before 1914—a story which would doubtless prove equally discreditable, and would help to explain, if not justify, the other. As the exposition stands, the whole course of events is made to turn upon the rather hasty observation: "Russian diplomats. . . . had firmly resolved, by 1908, to break up the Dual Monarchy" (p. 10).

Without dwelling upon the war or the secret diplomacy attending its course, Mr. Beard passes directly to its aftermath. In five admirably written chapters, he gives what is probably the most clear-cut, intelligible, compact account of present conditions in Europe that has yet appeared. General tendencies are sketched in firm, sure strokes, as, for example, the growing importance of petroleum as a factor in international competition. Significant but little noted facts are strikingly brought forward, such as the statement that Germany's unpaid reparation bills fall by tens of billions of francs to account for the post-war debts of France. Shrewd observations abound, like that which accounts for the toleration of the activities of Stinnes by German socialists on the ground that such operations "prepare the way for their order of things." Much light is thrown on the Russian Revolution by the simple chronological demonstration that the most extreme economic measures of the Soviet government came about under the pressure of military dangers. One of the most informing chapters is that on the "New Peasant Democracies." All the various plans for the economic rehabilitation of Europe are outlined concisely and fairly. Of the policy since adopted by France—single-handed collection of reparations by force—Mr. Beard merely remarks: "What lies beyond almost any short-sighted person can guess" (p. 114).

The chapter of most immediate interest is the final one on America's place in the existing situation. A "new constitution of nations" appears to the writer as Europe's only hope of salvation; yet, frankly disgusted with the perversity of European statesmen, he concludes: "In my opinion it would be unwise for the United States to attempt to play the part of a general receiver or a big brother for Europe tortured by the inevitable after-war hatreds" (p. 265). His preference is for the policy dubbed by its critics "Little Americanism"—a policy of withdrawal and self-development and of coöperation with other nations only as they similarly restrict their own ambitions.

JOSEPH V. FULLER.

University of Wisconsin.

Americans in Eastern Asia: A Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with Reference to China, Japan and Korea in the 19th Century. By TYLER DENNETT. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 725.)

This volume is a notable contribution to the study of American foreign policy in the Far East. It presents the diplomatic relations of the United States with China, Japan, and Korea, not as separate and distinct fields but as a unit, pointing out the common characteristics which, from decade to decade, marked American intercourse with all parts of eastern Asia, and the influence which events in any one region exerted upon the policy as a whole. The work is based upon source material, especially hitherto unused manuscript collections in the department of state. In the more than 700 pages there is no padding; the material deals solely with international relations; the treatment is scholarly and objective; the reader's interest is sustained throughout; and the work closes with an almost brilliant portrayal of the measures of John Hay.

The aims of American policy in the Far East, the author points out, have never changed; the United States has worked continuously for the Open Door and the territorial and political integrity of the Asiatic states. But the methods which have been used to gain these aims have varied greatly, oscillating from complete independence of European states to close coöperation with them. The study of the diplomacy of these hundred years has convinced the author that it is only by proper coöperation that American aims can be achieved in the Far East. While

there is no discussion of the recent Washington Conference, it is clear that this gathering marks the culminating triumph of the policy of co-operation as against that of isolation.

The author's conclusions are generally convincing, but his contention that in the annexations of 1898 the United States was merely returning to the earlier policy of Seward will not command universal assent. Before 1898 the United States had never taken territory in the Far East; the government had frequently pledged itself not to do so; it had refused to take possession of lands officially occupied by its representatives—the Marquesas in 1813 and the Bonins in 1853; it had declined to follow suggestions of annexation, as in the case of Formosa, and had neglected to take advantage of the long-continued American predominance in the Marshalls and Gilberts; yet in 1898-9 it made a complete reversal of this past history and policy and extended its sovereignty over the Philippines, Hawaii, and eastern Samoa.

The volume closes with an almost invaluable description and evaluation of printed and manuscript source material, especially that in the department of state. Altogether Mr. Dennett has made one of the most scholarly surveys of the history of American policy in any region which has yet appeared.

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE.

Clark University.

Forty Years of Diplomacy. By BARON R. R. ROSEN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1922. Two volumes. Pp. 315; 309.)

It is a tragic and sad story that Baron Rosen tells in his two volumes of autobiography. The author was highly gifted, well-educated, farsighted, and very intelligent, and yet constantly thwarted by outside events, never well appreciated by his government and ending his life far away from his country, home and family, disillusioned and disappointed, broken down by the revolution, the social meaning of which the author never could fathom nor understand. Verily the most terrible intellectual calamity that can befall a patriotic citizen: after forty years of service, having given his country and government the best he could give, Rosen ends his life an emigre and, as he himself calls it, a proletarian, being finally crushed by a taxicab. The Russian Revolution has mercilessly killed many scores of such citizens, whose

disillusionment was intensified by the conviction that their generation would never see better days in Russia.

The two volumes have a very different historical value; the first contains much of interest concerning Russia's foreign relations, the second one is devoted mainly to the Russian Revolution, which the author could neither understand nor appreciate in its historical perspective. The first volume, in consequence, will probably be used by historians of the future, while the second one will soon be forgotten. In the first volume three questions are discussed in detail. By far the most valuable part of the whole work is the description of the Russo-Japanese relations and of the transactions that led to the unfortunate war of 1904. The point of view of the author is absolutely the right one, but the tragedy of his position was that St. Petersburg would not agree with him; neither the Tsar nor his ministers saw the danger they were heading for and all the warnings of poor Rosen were utterly lost. The second matter discussed in this volume concerns the United States, where the author had many devoted friends; he loved America and did his very best, successfully on the whole, to foster good relations with Russia. The peace of Portsmouth was a great achievement. The third question discussed in the first book concerns the Balkans, and especially Serbia. It is dealt with in a shorter way and fewer details are given because the author spent much less time in this part of Europe, having been accredited to the courts of Belgrade and Athens for only short periods.

The second volume is devoted to revolutionary events and is of far less historical value, for the simple reason that the author neither by his education, nor by his conception of government and world politics, could understand the processes that developed in Russia during these last decades (1900-1920). In his views on these topics we find a strange mixture of liberalism and admiration for old Tsarism, staunch defence of Witte (whom the liberals never trusted), and futile hopes for reforms to be granted by the autocracy of former days. In the stormy days of 1917 Rosen was a lonely figure, like Quixote fighting windmills and illusions.

S. A. KORFF.

Washington, D. C.

Guild Socialism: An Historical and Critical Analysis. By NILES CARPENTER. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xv, 350.)

Guild Socialism combines in a remarkable way ideas and tendencies from many other social movements, including Fabianism, Trade Unionism, and Syndicalism. At the same time it has been molded, if not actually generated, by the more subtle forces of religion and literature. Due to its complex character and because it has developed from seed to flower within the past three decades, it offers exceptionally good materials for the study of the rise and development of a social philosophy. Mr. Carpenter has made extensive use of these materials. He has not only practically exhausted the traditional sources (books, magazines, and pamphlets) but in addition he has personally interviewed many of the leading guildsmen, notably Messrs. Cole, Hobson, Orage, and Penty. His work, therefore, contains a wealth of material and information, much of which has been heretofore unavailable. The book is carefully written in analytical form and the author has succeeded admirably in laying before the reader the evolution of a social idea rather than a mere catalogue and digest of books.

The book concludes with a proposal for a future guild program which is essentially a modification of the Douglas-Orage Credit Scheme. An increasing number of guild experiments should be started with guild labor and funds from the Cooperatives. It is hoped that these will gradually displace capitalistic endeavor and in this way the guild commonwealth will be evolved. This scheme of "Guild Coöperation" was actually begun during the war, and Mr. Carpenter contends that "The Building Guilds have been able pretty consistently to underbid 'private' contractors, and then have saved money on their own estimates" (p. 334n). All who are in sympathy with the guilds movement will regret that these guilds have recently become bankrupt.

It is unfortunate that the author should have entered upon his task with the preconception that "Guild Socialism is an economic doctrine and only incidentally one of politics." Many of the leaders of guild thought take the opposite view which is certainly more in accord with their main purpose, the reconciliation of socialism with individual liberty. Furthermore, because he neglects the political phases of his subject the author falls into a number of errors. He confuses the "party system" with the English and American two-party system (p. 274), democracy with its instruments (p. 264), syndicalism

with direct action (pp. 15, 78-79), and "function" with "utility" (pp. 301-303. Contrast Cole's wide use of "function" in *Guild Socialism*, p. 25). He mistakes the doctrines of Duguit and Laski for "Anti-Statism" (p. 65), and curiously devotes but two short footnotes to their influence on Guild Socialism, while the influence of Charles Dickens is elaborated for two pages (pp. 34-36)! Finally, in the discussion of his own proposal for guild coöperation he sweeps away as "foreign to the issue" (p. 326) the fundamental difficulty in every variety of Guild Socialism, namely the relationship between the guilds and the community as a whole. This failure to attach larger importance to the political questions involved is perhaps even more to be regretted in view of the fact that the author has used his elaborate and careful researches so successfully in dealing with other phases of the problem.

RODNEY L. MOTT.

University of Minnesota.

BRIEFER NOTICES

On the last day of the last session of the late Congress, Congressman Dallinger of Massachusetts introduced a measure which received less attention from the press than it deserved. It was a proposal to change the rules of the House in order to restore the old system of congressional leadership as it existed from the Speakership of "Czar" Reed to that of "Uncle Joe" Cannon. Such a proposal must come as a surprise to many intelligent students of public affairs. It has been supposed that the reform of the rules at the instance of the Republican insurgents in 1910-11 gave control of the House to its members, and that no new organization would arise which could escape that control. Former Congressman McCall's *The Business of Congress* and former Congressman Alexander's *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* have furnished the public with interesting objective accounts of the practice of lawmaking at Washington, but there has been no suggestion from any source that a new system had come into being, which some congressmen now wish to abandon for the old. However, great changes have taken place, and these recent excellent books are already out of date. One who understood the process of legislation even so recently as during the late period of Democratic supremacy would not understand the present methods of partisan organization and control within the House. The new system is now lucidly described in George Rothwell Brown's *The Leadership*

of Congress (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922, pp. 311). No better book could be desired by the college teacher who wishes his pupils to know the difference between the traditional process of legislation expounded in the formal treatises on parliamentary law and the present practice of law-making at Washington.

A. N. H.

Frank Exline's *Politics* (Dutton, pp. 226) deals with many features of present-day government in a novel and interesting way. The subtitle speaks of the work as an "original investigation," but the text hardly bears out this claim. There was a time when the author's attitude towards the inherent defects of government might have been called original, but today he finds himself in a considerable company. Various chapters deal with the nature of laws and government, sovereignty, public opinion, and what the author calls "political selection." The book concludes with a proposal "for a political system which will automatically produce the best government possible in any given community," to wit, a government based upon the scientific selection of public officers. The administrative machinery for this scientific selection, consisting of supreme, departmental, regional, and district boards is worked out in full detail.

The State and the Church, by Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., LL.D., and Rev. Moorhouse, F.X. Millar, S.J. (Macmillan Co., pp. 331) is one of the Social Action Series which is being prepared by the National Catholic Welfare Council for the purpose of presenting the teachings of the Catholic Church on the important social and industrial problems of the day. This work sets forth in an able and interesting manner the teaching of the church concerning the state. The first chapter contains a translation of the Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*, which treats of the Christian constitution of states. There are forty pages of comment on the Encyclical. The remainder of the book is devoted in the main to the development and application of the general principles contained in the Papal Letter. An exceptionally interesting chapter of 140 pages is given over to a discussion of "The History and Development of the Democratic Theory of Government in Christian Tradition." This chapter will prove a revelation to those who hazily associate the idea of the birth of democracy with the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers or with the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The book is a thorough study of a frequently misunderstood subject. Scholars, Catholic and non-Catholic, will read it with equal pleasure.

Charles F. Thwing, President Emeritus of Western Reserve University, has written a book on *Human Australasia* (Macmillan Co., pp. 270), based largely upon a recent visit to these outlying portions of the British Empire. Of particular interest to students of government are the chapters on "White Australasia" and "Industrial Experimentation and Unrest." In the former chapter Dr. Thwing explains how and why Australia has succeeded beyond other countries in keeping her doors closed to immigrants, especially those of colored races. Interesting comparisons are made with Hawaii which has become "a melting pot in which the races of the Orient are becoming the more and more predominating element." The author believes that Australia and New Zealand should be allowed ample opportunity to experiment with the development of a purely white civilization but at the same time suggests that from the standpoint of the world at large and the ultimate good of the islands themselves a limited proportion of immigration should be allowed, a proportion which would promote industries and at the same time not overwhelm the white population. On the subject of industrial conditions at least three inferences are drawn: first, that the control of the government by a labor party does not result in industrial peace; second, that conciliation boards and arbitration courts do not insure permanent industrial peace; and third, that the limitation of the functions of government to a single class may endanger the institutions of democracy. On these matters Dr. Thwing's conclusions coincide rather closely with those expressed by Lord Bryce in *Modern Democracies*.

In *The Causes of the War of Independence*, by Claude H. Van Tyne (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922, pp. x, 499), we have a delightful series of what seem to have been originally lectures, now brought together in book form. In accord with the newer conception of history the author's search for the causes of the separation of the colonies from the mother country carries him into many fields for material not ordinarily included in the layman's idea of events which cause a war. Not only does he consider the causes usually alleged, namely, the series of restrictions on commercial and political liberty, but also the remoter divergencies of opinion on social, religious, and constitutional questions as well as the differences produced by climate, geography, and mixed immigration. In fact the amount of space given to the actual consideration of those acts of Parliament and incidents of colonial administration which produced the irritation and fanned the sparks of resist-

ance into the flames of revolt is less than that allotted to a discussion of these underlying differences of political theory, economic needs, notions of the relation of church and state, frontier influence, racial admixture, social customs, and even literary standards and common forms of speech. In point of scholarship the book is up-to-date, using the latest works in each department and showing a breadth of reading in the general contemporary literature. It does not put forth any new thesis, especially on the constitutional side, nor bring to light any "hitherto unpublished material," but sets forth the best thought of special investigators in a well-balanced narrative of unusual freshness, and charm of presentation.

General Morris Schaff's *Jefferson Davis: His Life and Personality* (John W. Luce & Co., pp. 277) is the result of "a longing to see justice done . . . to one . . . who has had unfair treatment by the historians of the great war between the states!" The book is written in the gossipy style that characterized the author's earlier *Sunset of the Confederacy*.

Under the title *The Government of India* (Clarendon Press, pp. 144), Sir Courtenay Ilbert has added to his earlier, well-known volume on the same subject a brief historical survey of parliamentary legislation relating to the Indian Empire. There is a full analysis of the Government of India Act of 1919.

The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835, by Jane L. Mesick (Columbia University Press, pp. 370) includes a vivid description of American political and social life as portrayed in the writings of English visitors during the half century following the Revolution. These visitors, as the text proves, were often well supplied with choice bits of political misinformation, as, for example, in the instance where one of them learned that "clergymen were not permitted to sit in Congress" (p. 338). The student of American political evolution will find much to interest him in this volume.

As a "preparatory excursion before reading his Outline of History" Mr. H. G. Wells advises the perusal of his new *Short History of the World* (Macmillan Co., pp. 445). This book "is meant to be read straight forwardly almost as a novel is read." It has the merits (and the defects) of the author's larger work in that it presents a general

view of history in highly readable form but not always with strict adherence to accuracy. Mr. Wells assures his readers that the book gives an account of our present knowledge of history, "shorn of elaborations and complications." But a knowledge of history "shorn of complications" is not a knowledge of history at all. As well might one claim a knowledge of language shorn of its grammar.

E. T. Raymond's biography of *Lloyd George* (Doran, pp. 367) is a comprehensive study of this English statesman and his work. A very large portion of the book is devoted to Lloyd George's policy during the World War.

The Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published an interesting volume by K. Leites, on *Recent Economic Developments in Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 240). It contains much valuable material, although its title is somewhat misleading, as the events analyzed in the book are no longer recent ones. Of course this is not the author's fault; Russian life develops such intense processes, things move so fast in modern Russia, that it is tremendously difficult to crystalize them into standing and permanent formulae. The best part of the volume is the analysis of the industrial situation; the least satisfactory is the treatment of the agrarian question, which is so complicated that it calls for more special investigation. The history of the cooperative movement seems also much too short. In the first part the author gives an interesting glimpse into Russian finance, so little known abroad. Though this volume is already out of date, it will retain its historical value for future impartial research.

S. A. K.

Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith by Joseph Vincent Fuller (Harvard University Press, pp. xii, 368), is an interesting and readable study of Bismarck's foreign policy during the eventful period of 1885-1888, with reference also to the important happenings which preceded and followed that period. All the published material is consulted in an elaborate attempt to interpret the famous chancellor's policies. The resulting conclusions are: first, that there was no break in the foreign policy of Germany under William II, who had inherited a broken-down diplomatic system and especially the hostility of Russia; second, that William II "out-Bismarcked Bismarck" in his ingenious attempts to

find a way out of the diplomatic impasse; and thirdly, that Bismarck's policy was fundamentally defective and "contained all the causes of his Empire's fall." Mr. Fuller is to be congratulated for this splendid, intensive, workmanlike book on the most critical years of German foreign policy between 1870 and 1914.

Sir Charles Lucas' *The Partition and Colonization of Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 228), is an excellent brief survey, showing how Africa has become a virtual dependency of Europe, and how its different colonies came into being and are governed. The author points out the mischief which can be done in Africa by a power without experience in dealing with native races. Final chapters describe the part which Africa played in the European war and at the Peace Conference, which resulted in depriving Germany of her African colonies and establishing them as mandates under the League of Nations. Sir Charles believes that the negro tribes of Africa are unable to do without European guidance. Yet he points out the danger that Africa will become a great military reservoir and a pawn in European wars.

It is hard to see what useful purpose has been served by the recent publication of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 416). Whatever thrill the reader may gain from the title vanishes when he finds that a history which purports to be "secret" was first published in 1895! Mr. Blunt, who has a very high regard for the Egyptian, traces from many personal documents the "disheartening" story of the intervention of England and France in Egypt, and of the imperialistic, financial, and personal motives which brought it about. He believes that England destroyed, through intrigue and stupidity, the attempts made by Arabi Pasha to set up a real constitutional government. While he is very harsh on the British in this respect, he admits that the original intervention was justified by the profligacy of the Khedive Ismail.

The Kaiser's Memoirs (Harper's, pp. 366) have been so freely discussed from every point of view during the past few months that one can not hope to add much to the controversy. It is agreed that the memoirs are important, and that students of modern political history must take them into their reckonings; nevertheless these writings of the former kaiser add surprisingly little to what we already knew concerning the course of German political and diplomatic history

during the three decades 1888-1918. In some respects the student of psychology will find more material in this volume than will the student of political science. The former emperor's side of his various controversies is presented quite adroitly in some instances, but all this is more than counterbalanced by the considerably larger number of absurdities which readers of the volume, and particularly American readers, are invited to believe.

The Wreck of Europe (Bobbs-Merrill Co., pp. 304) by Francesco Nitti, the former prime minister of Italy, regards the treaty of Versailles as practically a continuation of the war. While not making a plea for Germany he thinks the old canon law injunction that "even the devil has a right to be heard" should be heeded. Great danger is foreseen through a possible dissolution of the Europe of 1913 with little possibility of substituting an organization to take its place. In early 1922, viewing conditions on the continent, the author says "all Europe will go to pieces if new conditions of life are not found, and the economic equilibrium, profoundly shaken by the war, re-established." From another point of view and with different reasoning he comes to many of the conclusions which Keynes had previously reached.

The Problem of the Pacific in the Twentieth Century, by General N. Golovin in collaboration with Admiral A. D. Bubnov (Translated by Constantine Nabokoff, with a preface by Harold Williams. Scribner's, pp. 256), discusses particularly the economic, political, and strategic phases of the Pacific question. The book shows that the Japanese are by nature islanders, and islanders of the south temperate zone, the inference from which is that Siberia and northern Asia are in the long run safe from permanent Japanese occupation. Lack of coal and iron and density of population, however, stimulate expansion. The thesis of the book is that "war is a continuation of peace-time policy by force of arms." The authors find from a strategic point of view the Japanese bases firm and adequate, the American remote and inadequate. They see Great Britain readjusting her Pacific policy and the United States actuated "by a kind of egotistical insularity," which declines general international obligations.

The lectures given by Signor Tittoni at the Institute of Politics in Williamstown during the summer of 1922 have been published under the title *Modern Italy* (Macmillan Co., pp. 236). The author describes

Italy's chief contributions in the fields of literature, art, science, philosophy, jurisprudence, government, and economics. There is an interesting chapter on Italian emigration.

A Short History of the Near East by William Stearns Davis (Macmillan Co., pp. 408) presents a general survey of the subject from the founding of Constantinople to the present time. Like the author's earlier works this volume is characterized by a high grade of historical scholarship and conspicuous literary merit.

A History of Switzerland by Wilhelm Oechsli (Cambridge University Press, pp. 480) is a translation of the last work undertaken by this eminent Swiss historian before his death in 1919. Beginning with the separation of Switzerland from the empire the author traces the history of the confederated cantons through the early modern centuries down to our own day, concluding with a short chapter on the Swiss federal constitution of 1874. An appendix deals with the relations between Switzerland and Great Britain. An exhaustive and very useful bibliography is added.

The Making of Australia by Thomas Dunfabin (A. & C. Black, pp. 254) is the first volume of a new series on *The Making of the British Empire*. It is a concise, straightforward, and clear narrative of Australian history from the time of its discovery to the present day with adequate attention to economic development. Two chapters deal with the history of New Zealand.

The three lectures which the solicitor general, the Hon. James M. Beck, delivered last summer in the Hall of Gray's Inn, London, have now been published in book form, under the title of *The Constitution of the United States: a brief study of the Genesis, Formulation, and Political Philosophy of the Constitution of the United States* (George H. Doran Co., pp. xxiii, 280). As the author modestly remarks, the treatment is neither "as deep as a well, nor as wide as a church door"; but the material has been skilfully selected and the style is attractive. A fourth paper, an American Bar Association address called "The Revolt against Authority," has been included, as have also the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.

Carl Becker's study of *The Declaration of Independence* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., pp. 286) deals with the historical antecedents of this docu-

ment, with the procedure by which it was drafted, with its literary quality, and with its political philosophy. The evolution of the Declaration from the first rough draft to final form is clearly shown by means of reprints which indicate the excisions, corrections, and interlineations. The chapter on the philosophy of the document is very illuminating and may rightly be called an important contribution to the study of American political theory. The review of historical antecedents is broad and interesting; in some respects these chapters form the most significant and valuable portion of the book. To say this, however, is no disparagement of the other discussions, for they all attain a high standard both in substance and in style.

Students of state and local government will find an interesting discussion of some of the problems of a southern commonwealth presented in a bulletin on *State Reconstruction Studies*, issued by the North Carolina Club at the University of North Carolina (The University of North Carolina Record, Extension Bulletin No. 41, pp. 198). There are articles on such topics as public education, public health, state administrative consolidation, community organization, unified county government, and the executive budget. The Extension Division has also issued a pamphlet on *Town Studies* (pp. 55) by Harold D. Meyer, which includes a score card for making a survey of cities and towns and outlines a series of studies for persons and organizations interested in community problems.

Three interesting pamphlet publications relating to civil service reform have appeared during the past few months. The first is entitled *The Civil Service: A Sketch of the Merit System* (pp. 31) by Edward C. Marsh. Published by the National Civil Service Reform League, it gives an informing outline of civil service development in the United States. The Governmental Research Conference of the United States and Canada has issued, under the title *The Character and Functioning of Municipal Civil Service Commissions in the United States* (pp. 104) the report of its Committee on Civil Service. This report contains a great deal of useful data relating to the organization and methods of the existing civil service authorities; it also puts forth a plan for the reorganization of civil service work along the lines of personnel administration. Finally, the National Municipal League has printed the report of its Committee on Civil Service. This 28-page pamphlet is entitled *Employment Management in the Municipal Civil Service: A*

Program. To some extent it covers the same ground as the Governmental Research Conference's report and its general recommendations are similar; but there are some important differences between the two proposals. These various pamphlets are of unusual value to students of the subject.

Toledo's Non-Partisan Movement by Wendell F. Johnson (The H. J. Chittenden Co., Toledo, pp. 72), analyzes in a most readable and incisive manner the struggle that has been waged during the last twenty years to free the government of that city from the control of national politics. The author shows how the movement for non-partisanship in Toledo originated with "Golden Rule" Jones who was mayor at the beginning of the present century, how the movement culminated in the adoption of a new charter in 1914 providing for non-partisan nominations and elections, and how the non-partisan ballot system has worked during the last six years. It is the author's conclusion that the non-partisan movement has been the most significant feature of Toledo's municipal history and has contributed immeasurably to the reform of city government, but it is also his belief that the shortcomings of the non-partisan ballot should be recognized and an attempt made to remedy them. Such a remedy, he suggests, may be found in the organization of a purely municipal party or the organization of a citizen's league "to give backing to good candidates and to inform the public concerning undesirables." Students of municipal government and politics, and civic organizations as well, should find much of practical value in this booklet, which is the elaboration of a graduate thesis prepared at the University of the City of Toledo.

The National Municipal League has published a loose leaf *Digest of City Manager Charters* by R. T. Crane which includes data for one hundred and sixty-seven cities operating under the commission-manager plan. The information presents in outline form for each city the date on which the charter was adopted; whether the charter is based upon home rule, a special act, or a general optional law; the number, methods of nomination and election, term, salary, and qualifications of members of the city council; the method of selection and powers of the mayor; the term, qualifications, and powers of the city manager; the provisions in regard to administrative departments and the devices for popular control such as the recall, the initiative and referendum. Students of municipal government and persons interested in charter-drafting are greatly in-

debted to Professor Crane for this useful compilation and it is hoped that the plan of providing supplementary outlines will be carried out so as to keep the work up to date.

The Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia has published a report entitled *The City and County of Philadelphia* (pp. 95) which explains in a complete and lucid manner the intricate history and results of efforts to consolidate the two units of government. The report describes how the Act of Consolidation of 1854 has failed to accomplish its purpose largely because of constitutional limitations which have prevented its revision and improvement, how the relationship between the city and county authorities has become extremely complicated and dependent almost wholly upon judicial interpretation, and how there is a wasteful duplication of functions. In conclusion remedial measures necessary for an improvement of conditions are discussed. As in most states the chief difficulties are to be found in antiquated constitutional provisions.

The general reader as well as students of economics and government will find an up-to-date, scholarly and readable discussion of the principles underlying taxation, expenditure, and public debts in M. E. Robinson's *Public Finance* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., pp. x, 172), which is the most recent volume in the series of Cambridge Economics Handbooks, edited by J. M. Keynes. In the final chapter dealing with future policy the author points out among other matters that the problem is not merely that of finding new sources of revenue or increasing the old but in a clear recognition of the fact that government spending is not only controlled by government policy but is largely dependent upon administrative cost. He also makes a plea for an improvement in the administrative machinery of the tax system as an urgently necessary reform. A special feature of the work is the emphasis placed upon current problems and conditions especially those of reparations and post-war debts. Although the work has particular reference to British finance the facts and arguments set forth have universal application.

Among the recent monographs issued by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are *The Effects of the War Upon French Economic Life* (pp. 197), edited by Professor Charles Gide of the University of Paris, and *The Financial Policy of Czechoslovakia During the First Year of Its History* (pp. xvi,

160) by Dr. Aloši Rašin, minister of finance. Both volumes are published by The Clarendon Press, Oxford. The former work is a collection of five studies by various authorities and deals with the effect of the war upon the merchant marine, the textile industry, finances, commercial policy, and labor of France. The latter volume explains how the republic of Czechoslovakia is attempting to develop a sound policy of government finance in spite of serious obstacles. It is of interest to note that among the new revenues established in Czechoslovakia has been a turnover tax of 1 per cent upon all sales. The yield of this tax during the first year, however, was smaller than anticipated because of administrative difficulties.

The former director of the budget, General Charles G. Dawes, has written a book entitled *The First Year of the Budget in the United States* (Harper and Brothers, pp. x, 437). While in office it was General Dawes' practice to make notes from day to day in regard to the progress of his work, and the present volume is made up largely of such memoranda, together with official orders, correspondence with the President and other officials, statements to the press, and speeches. There is also an appendix of about 200 pages containing tables and detailed statements in regard to proposed and actual economics and a digest of budget circulars and orders. The result is a clear and straightforward account of the procedure and policies which were evolved, the problems confronted, and the results achieved during the formative period of the new national budget system. One conclusion stands out above all others from a reading of this volume; namely, the urgent necessity for a thorough-going reorganization and coördination of the national administrative departments.

Among the recent publications from the Ronald Press is a volume on *Budgetary Control* (pp. viii, 474) by J. O. McKinsey. Although the bulk of the book deals with the problems of private business a chapter is devoted to a brief but systematic analysis of the principles which should govern budgetary control in the national and state governments. There is also an appendix including the text of the federal Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 and extracts from the Ohio Administrative Code in regard to the budget and the powers of the state department of finance.

Under the title *The World's Monetary Problems* the two memoranda prepared by Gustav Cassel, the Swedish economist, for the League of

Nations have been published by Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co. (pp. 154). These memoranda attracted widespread attention at the time they were written.

Bank Credit and Agriculture by Ivan Wright (McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. 340) outlines the credit situation of American agriculture under the national and federal reserve bank systems, particularly as respects short-term credits. The federal farm loan system is described, likewise the French *credit fonciers* and the German agricultural improvement banks. The book is a most useful contribution to existing literature on rural credits.

The American Association for Labor Legislation has issued a second edition (completely revised) of *Labor Problems and Labor Legislation* by John B. Andrews (pp. 135). The more important labor problems are explained in an elementary way, thus making the book suitable for use by groups of workers.

Three recent volumes in the National Social Science Series (A. C. McClurg & Co.) deal with various phases of the labor problem. These are *The Meaning of Child Labor* (pp. 161) by Raymond G. Fuller; *The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations* (pp. 133) by John H. Bowers; and *American Trade Unionism* (pp. 138) by George M. Janes. Each volume presents in compact and readable form, a survey of the subject indicated by its title.

The Press and the Organization of Society, by Norman Angell (Labour Publishing Co., London, pp. 123) is an attempt to indicate how organized labor may "capture" the press and use it for the greater enlightenment of the public. In the earlier chapters of the book there is a live and useful discussion of the part now played by the press in moulding the public mind.

The Public Relief of Sickness by Gerald Morgan (Macmillan Co., pp. 195), is a historical and analytical study of the subject. The first half of the book is devoted to an exposition of what has already been accomplished in Denmark, Germany, England, and other countries. The remaining chapters present a careful study of proposed legislation, especially in New York state. The author's conclusion is that medical benefits should be provided by state-aided health organizations, leaving to the health insurance authorities the sole work of providing cash compensation for loss of wages due to illness.

Fabian Franklin's *What Prohibition has Done to America* (Harcourt, Brace & Co., pp. 129), is an endeavor to prove that "the eighteenth amendment is a crime against the constitution of the United States." From a legal standpoint the author's argument is far from convincing; but the vigor of statement which characterizes the book will commend it to those who already sympathize with Mr. Franklin's point of view.

Henry H. Goldberger's *America for Coming Citizens* (Scribner's, pp. 243) is an elementary manual of American history suitable for use in the teaching of aliens. It includes, also, short chapters on various topics in government and economics.

A second American edition of Franz Oppenheimer's *The State* (pp. 302) has appeared from the press of B. W. Huebsch. In a new preface Dr. Oppenheimer reaffirms his earlier views, the importance and interest of which are now appreciated by students of political theory in all countries.

The Rural Mind and Social Welfare by Ernest R. Groves (University of Chicago Press, pp. xiv, 199) has for its principal theme the effects of the drift to the cities and the social advantages of balancing rural and urban populations. "Rural people," says the author, "have a greater social function than merely to grow food for city dwellers. They also contribute to modern society attitudes of indispensable value." The greater part of the book is taken up, therefore, with an analysis of these traits of the rural mind which have an effect upon our national life and which add to national progress. Another volume which considers the movement for the improvement of country life from a somewhat different angle is *Organizing the Community*, by B. A. McClenahan (Century Co., pp. xviii, 260). The book is full of practical suggestions for community organization in small cities, towns, villages, and rural districts; there are two useful chapters and an abundance of illustrative material on the method of making a rural survey, and a number of typical plans of organization are discussed. The author recognizes clearly the fact that any rural organization which is worth much must grow from the bottom up and that communities must be induced to act spontaneously.

Some of the essays in Stuart P. Sherman's *Americans* (Scribner's, pp. 336) are of especial interest to students of American political evolution, notably the essay on "Roosevelt and the National Psychology." Substance and style are alike of the very highest quality.

Secretary Hoover's *American Individualism* (Doubleday, Page & Co., pp. 72) is a defense of orthodox individualism in its philosophic, spiritual, economic, and political phases. The author confesses that his faith has been "confirmed and deepened by the searching experiences of seven years in the backwash and misery of war."

Justifiable Individualism, by Frank W. Blackmar (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., pp. 142) is a vigorous protest against the mass play of modern social life. The author's contention is that we are placing too much stress on group activity as a means of human progress and too little upon the development of the individual.

Funk & Wagnalls Company have recently published an interesting and valuable work on the post-war industrial situation by W. Jett Lauck and Claude S. Watts under the title *The Industrial Code* (pp. v, 571). The same publishers have also brought out a fifth edition of *The Immigration Problem* by Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, with three new chapters by Rufus D. Smith.

The Peril of the Republic by Daniel Chauncey Brewer (Putnam's, pp. vi, 354) has been written for the purpose of showing how, in the author's opinion, immigration is imperiling American institutions and to point out "that alien invasion has quickened the drift to political revolution." Another book issued by the same publishers is *Socialism and the Average Man* by William H. Doughty, Jr. (pp. xiii, 238). In this volume, which is intended for the average reader, the author presents in non-technical language certain of the simpler theoretical, and also practical, arguments against socialism.

Heinrich Strobel, minister of finance in the Prussian revolutionary government of November, 1918, in a recent book entitled *Socialization in Theory and Practice* (translated from the German by H. J. Stenning. P. S. King & Son, pp. 341), gives an interesting and instructive account of the recent attempts at socialization in Russia, Hungary, and especially Germany.

The subject of *The Elements of Social Justice*, by L. T. Hobhouse (Henry Holt & Co., pp. 247) is the application of the ethical principles set forth in the author's *The Rational Good* to political and economic problems. Students of political theory who accept the proposition that

politics are subordinate to ethics will find much that is interesting and stimulating in the discussions of social and political freedom, justice and equality, and democracy.

Crime: Its Causes and Treatment (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., pp. x, 292) by Clarence Darrow, a well-known criminal lawyer, has for its central theme the idea that too much emphasis has been placed upon crime as the result of moral delinquency and that punishment has savoured too much of vengeance. In the opinion of the author the first step necessary to lessen crime is to change the state of public opinion as to human responsibility so that the criminal may be treated with as much intelligence and fairness as the insane and diseased are now cared for.

Professor N. S. B. Gras of the University of Minnesota has written *An Introduction to Economic History* (Harper and Bros., pp. xxiii, 350) intended chiefly as a text for college classes. The book is a scholarly survey from a somewhat new point of view of the fundamental stages of economic development culminating in what the author calls the period of metropolitan economy. The New York chapter of the American Institute of Banking has published *An Outline of the Economic Development of the United States* (pp. 40) by Edward M. Earle of Columbia University.

The Golden Fleece: An Introduction to the Industrial History of England (The Clarendon Press, pp. 224) is the title of a most interesting and unique book by G. W. Morris and L. S. Wood. The aim of the authors is to give in a non-technical manner some idea of the great part which the staple trade of England, the woolen industry, has played in the national development, expansion, and foreign policy of that country.

In *The Economic Policies of Richelieu* (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 202), Professor Franklin Charles Palm declares that Richelieu is more than one of the great French statesmen and may well be considered one of the first economic leaders in French history. Richelieu's policies of centralization and mercantilism are thoroughly described.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have issued a fourth edition of Charles F. Dunbar's *Theory and History of Banking* (pp. 321), a work which still retains much value although it was first published more than thirty years ago. The text has been modernized and two new chapters by Professor O. M. W. Sprague included. A supplementary chapter on Federal Reserve Banks by H. P. Willis has been added to the present edition.

Railroad Freight Transportation, by L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware and Hudson railroad (Appleton's, pp. 771), discusses everything that enters into the problem of carrying merchandise. It is a detailed work, bearing the stamp of practical experience. While the greater portion of the book deals with operating problems there is some discussion of the Adamson Law, the work of the railroad labor board, and other topics which lie close to the field of government.

Longmans, Green and Company have published a book on *Organized Produce Markets* by John George Smith, Assistant Professor of Commerce at the University of Birmingham. This describes the principal produce markets, particularly in England and the United States; with a discussion of speculation and legislation for its control.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF POLITICAL INTEREST

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL

University of Illinois

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AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

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